

ZULULAND

AND

THE ZULUS:

THEIR

HISTORY, BELIEFS, CUSTOMS,
MILITARY SYSTEM, HOME LIFE,
LEGENDS, ETC., ETC.,
AND MISSIONS TO THEM

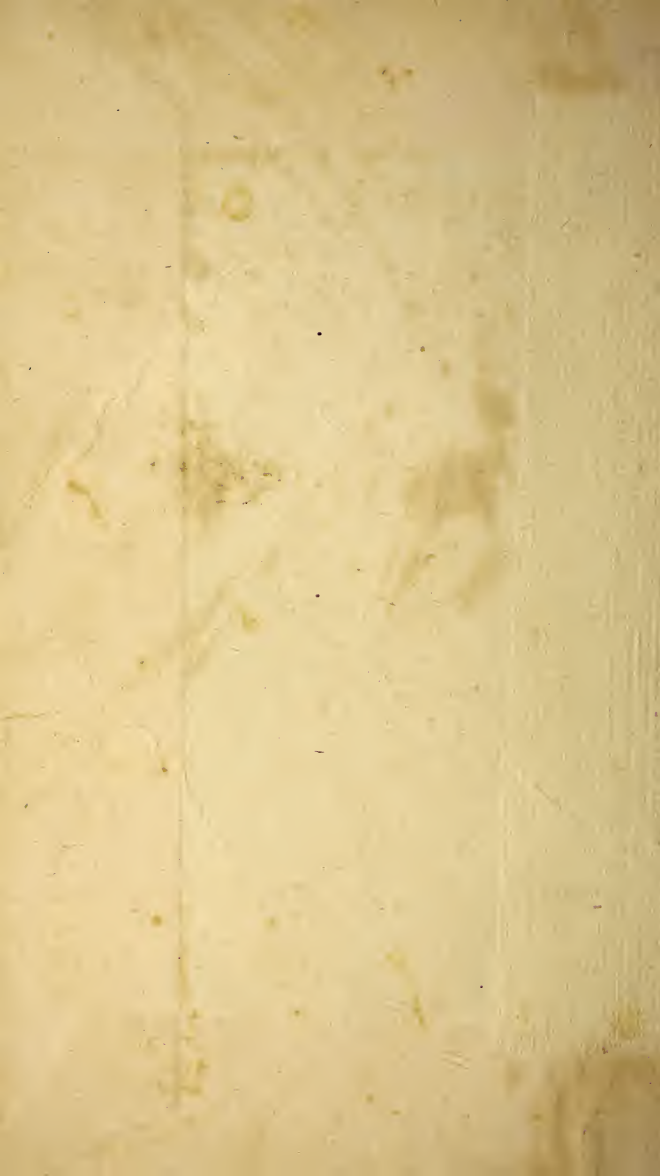
BY

J. A. FARRER.

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Mrs. Wilson
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ZULULAND AND THE ZULUS.



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ZULULAND

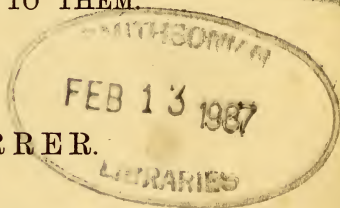
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There lie the Shells of Men, out of which all the Life and Virtue has been blown. . . . Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest.—CARLYLE.

"It is my office and profession to go all over the world, righting wrongs and redressing grievances."

"I do not understand your way of righting wrongs," said the bachelor "for from right you have set me wrong."—CERVANTES.

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P R E F A C E.

THE object of the following pages is to give a short account of the curious customs and beliefs attributed to the Zulus; to trace historically the changes in our relations with the country and the people from the time of the first settlement in Natal; and also to supply some description of the military and home life of the natives.

The causes of the present war are so well known that it is not necessary to discuss them here. It is difficult *now* to decide on their merits at so great a distance from the scene of action, though it is scarcely conceivable that war was precipitated without just reason, or without every effort having been made to avert it.

Amongst others, the following authorities have been referred to in the preparation of this book:—

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ZULULAND AND THE ZULUS.

CHAPTER I.

OUR FIRST RELATIONS WITH THE ZULUS.

Beginnings of Zulu power—English settlement at Natal—First interview of the settlers with Chaka—His hospitality and kindness—Grants of leave to settle at Natal—Assassination of Chaka and succession of Dingan—Difficulties about refugees—Persistent refusal of the Home Government to make Natal a Colony—Treaty with Dingan in 1835—Advent of the Dutch settlers—Captain Gardiner—Assassination of Pieter Retief and war between the Boers and English against the Zulus—Panda's overtures to the Boers—Panda made king, and Dutch sovereignty over Zululand proclaimed.

THE Amazulu are supposed to have been a comparatively insignificant tribe till the days of the now famous Chaka, who, for his career of wide and destructive conquest, has been called "the Attila of South Africa." The steps by which he attained to power, conquering and assimilating other tribes, till the Zulus acquired a name, and became a nation, constitute the first important chapter of Zulu history.

Zulu history, as such, does not begin before Chaka's reign, about the year 1820, but it begins fully steeped in atrocities, conquest, and devastation. It was not till after Chaka had overrun the Natal territory, and had reduced most of the tribes to his sway, that white men knew anything about the natives, their only intercourse with them up to that time having been due to occasional shipwrecks along the coast.

In 1721 the Dutch established a factory at Port Natal, but soon abandoned it. Our acquaintance with the Zulus only dates from after the year 1823, when Lieutenant Farewell, on an exploration of the East Coast of Africa, reached Natal, an event which was subsequently followed by an English settlement in those parts.

It is clear, therefore, that little historical value attaches to speculations concerning the Zulus which go further back than the year 1823, all such speculations resting, not merely on hearsay evidence, but on the most suspicious form such evidence can take, that is, the testimony of native refugees who sought protection with the British settlers from the tyranny of Chaka.

The condition of Natal before its invasion and conquest by Chaka, is said to have been one of great prosperity, marked by a dense population which were "numerous as the blades of grass, spreading

over the hills, and filling the valleys." When Chaka's forces crossed the Tugela, this African paradise was destroyed, so that, when the first English settlers came to Natal, three or four hundred souls are said to have been all that the whole district contained.

The details of Chaka's conquests are of no interest now, though they are a fact and a recollection which, to this very day, exercise no mean influence on Zulu character and ideals of life. They then first tasted the joys of military prestige and the pride of victorious arms.

In 1824, Lieutenant Farewell, with whose name the foundation of the colony of Natal is most intimately connected, first had an interview with the Zulu king, being received by him with a state and ceremony that was little expected, in the presence of about 8,000 armed men. Farewell had frequent interviews with the king, who not only gave the English a number of cattle for their support, but made them a sale and grant of part of his country near Natal.

It is supposed that the cordiality with which Chaka thus received the English was due to the presence of a certain escaped convict, named Jacob, who, after sundry adventures, had reached the Zulu camp, had there been raised to a place of honour, and had the shrewdness to speak highly of the power of his nation. Chaka was also much impressed

with the information Farewell gave him, that across the water certain stuff could be got which would turn white hairs black. It was for his mother that he required this marvellous hair-restorer.

“In all his intercourse with the first English settlers he (Chaka) behaved with kindness and generosity. They were few and helpless, being entirely in his power; but whilst he sometimes acted in a capricious manner towards them, yet he never injured them, but gave them liberally of his bounty in cattle and corn, at the same time assigning the country of Natal to their use.” It is, however, probable that when Farewell speaks of a sale and grant of land, Chaka never intended absolutely to alienate it, an act which, by Zulu laws, he would have been incompetent to do. Such confusions between a “sale,” and “leave to settle,” have been frequent causes of disputes; the recent land dispute between Cetewayo and the Transvaal, for example, having had its origin in a precisely similar misunderstanding of a contract.

In 1828 a document was drawn up by Jacob, to which Chaka affixed his mark, whereby he assigned “the free and full possession of” the very same country previously granted to Farewell, to Lieutenant King. At the same time he sent a mission consisting of two of his chiefs to King George, with assurances of friendship and offers of alliance;

but the unfriendly treatment they met with at the hands of the Cape Government authorities embittered for some time the relations between Chaka and the settlers. It is said that the document known as Chaka's grant, was sworn before a Colonial magistrate, and that no doubt exists as to its authenticity; but the circumstances under which such marks have often been made by savage kings do not warrant any very strong belief in the real validity of any documents to which their signatures have been thus appended.

Trade in ivory and cattle was the main motive of a settlement at Natal. The Colonial Office insisted on all intercourse with the natives being conciliatory and carried on by fair terms of barter. On August the 27th, 1824, the British colours were hoisted in the new colony of Natal, and the district taken into possession by Lieutenant Farewell. But that the Home Government never encouraged the settlement is clear from the answer to representations made of the advantages of the new colony, sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

“His Majesty's Government do not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting these suggestions as would counterbalance the expense, and other inconveniences, which must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal.”

All this time Chaka's wars were continuing, and his generous preference of arms to trade was a cause of much grief to the infant settlement. These wars, with all their attendant horrors, may well be left to the imagination, which can scarcely lack experience to fill up the bare outline with incident and detail. They did not, however, affect the uniform friendliness of the Zulu conqueror to the British settlers. These, it is said, "had enough to do to obtain food and raiment, often enduring considerable hardship and privation; buying a little corn as they could, shooting bucks, and, when hard pressed, going to Chaka for cattle, being beggars at the door of the great king, where they sometimes met with cold reception and rough treatment, but generally obtained part or all of that for which they came." This is a fact which deserves recollection now that Natal has risen to eminence, wealth, and power; and now that Chaka's nephew has become our enemy, and his people the objects of a war which is not likely to be one of mercy.

The early history of the Natal settlement is not a happy one. Bitter quarrels arose among its founders, which were only appeased by the death of Lieutenant King, followed shortly after by the murder, at the hands of some natives, of Lieutenant Farewell in 1831.

Shortly before this, the death occurred of the

Zulu monarch himself. His cruelties, or the ambition of his brothers, produced a revolution ; for one day as he was sitting in his kraal in the midst of his chief councillors, he was assassinated by his brother Dingan and some other accomplices, and Dingan then reigned in the stead, but also in the manner, of his predecessor. The dates in Natal-Zulu history are given with wide variations, but it would seem that Dingan's accession took place in the year 1828.

For the understanding of the subsequent history it is necessary to notice the relation in which the English settlers stood to the Zulu king. It appears that they were looked upon as *indunas* or captains, like any other Zulu chiefs who had dependents under them ; these dependents consisting chiefly, in their case, of the refugees or other survivors of Chaka's cruelties, who made the English settlers a nucleus of defence and protection to them. The settlers stood in the position of Kaffir chiefs, with their cattle and dependents, though not themselves independent of the king.

Difficulties soon arose when Dingan thus became "rightful king over the Natal settlers." It being the custom of Zulu kings to cut off the friends and supporters of a late king, the settlers seem to have shown some reasonable fears in not going to the king's kraal, when they received a summons to do

so. The result was that the king sent some troops to burn the huts and drive off the cattle of Cane, a settler who had succeeded to the position of Farewell. When the restoration of the cattle was demanded, Dingan insisted as a condition that seven chiefs who had taken refuge at the settlement should be given up to him. War between the Zulus and the settlers, though imminent, was for the time averted.

In 1834 another attempt was made, in the form of a petition signed by 192 merchants and other residents of Cape Town, to prevail on the Home Government to sanction the colonization of Natal. But the answer was the same as before : “in the present state of the finances of the Cape any additional expense for the establishment of a new settlement would be highly inconvenient, and could not with propriety be incurred.”

In the following year a still more pressing appeal was sent by the settlers to the Governor of Cape Colony, to obtain the recognition by His Majesty's Government of all the country between the Umzim-coolu and Tugela rivers as a Colony of the British Empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council to make laws and regulations. They based their petition chiefly on these grounds : that the numbers of natives who had entered the settlement for protection could not be estimated at less than 3,000, all

of whom acknowledged the settlers as their chiefs, and looked to them for protection, whilst they themselves were in the neighbourhood of powerful native states, "without the shadow of a law or recognized authority" among them.

In 1835 Dingan was prevailed upon to enter into the following treaty with the settlers, which is noticeable as setting in a clear light the relations and difficulties then existing between the settlers and the Zulus :—

"Dingan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. *He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.*

"The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the king every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

"Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstances, is to be forwarded to Dingan."

In July 1835 Dingan is said to have pledged his word to cede to the settlers a territory comprising some 15,000 square miles—that is, between the Tugela and Umzimcoolu rivers, and from the sea-coast to the Quathlamba mountains.

At the end of 1836 the dissatisfaction of the Boers at the Cape with the English rule led to their

emigration from the Cape Colony. The losses they incurred by the emancipation of their slaves, by the recent Kafir rebellion, and the inadequate protection afforded by the English Government against Kafir raids, were the chief causes of an exodus from the Cape Colony of some five or six thousand Dutch inhabitants. Difficulties soon arose with the natives, and in January 1837, we find a Dutch commando marching against the Zulu monarch in alleged retaliation for injuries received. They invested the native camps about dawn. "The Matebele (*i.e.* Zulus) flew to arms at the first alarm and bravely defended themselves, but were shot like sparrows as fast as they appeared outside of the enclosure; nor did they succeed in perforating the leathern doublet of a single Dutchman." "Ere the sun had reached the zenith, the bodies of 400 chosen Matebele warriors—the flower of barbarian chivalry—garnished the blood-stained valley of Mosega." This is a sample of what the Dutch commandos in South Africa used to be, not a happy presage for their future relations with the Zulus.

When the Dutch arrived at Natal, in 1837, an attempt was made to establish a sort of independent Anglo-Dutch government. The authority of Captain Gardiner, who returned from England and read out his commission as magistrate of the settlement under a recent Act of Parliament, was

repudiated, on the ground that the country of Natal had never been acknowledged as a part of the British Empire. A notice he also read out, *which prohibited the sale of fire-arms to the Zulu chief*, was treated with the same disregard that was paid to all other notices he proclaimed; but the fact proves that forty years ago the Zulu nation acquired guns from Natal. In the same spirit the treaty made between Dingan and the settlers regarding the refugees, three years previously, was calmly repudiated as cruel and unjust. That cruelty resulted from it cannot be denied, but there are generally two parties to the abrogation of a treaty.

The history of the subsequent proceedings between Dingan and the Dutch has, of course, only been told by Europeans, so that some scepticism attaches to its veracity. As it stands, it is a tale of little glory, and is better told briefly than at length.

Pieter Retief, the Dutch leader, was a man who, with a sincere wish to treat the natives well, and to put a check upon commandos against them, was fully prepared to defend his own by force. When, in November 1837, he visited Dingan, the latter received him (in his own words), "with much kindness," and professed himself ready to grant to the Boers the cession of Natal, on condition of their recovering for him certain cattle stolen by another chief. When Retief returned with the cattle, he

returned rather as the head of a "commando" than as the head of a pacific embassy, with an array of 200 men; but the king affixed his mark to a formal grant of the territory. Next day the Dutch party were invited into the royal kraal, and there, whilst they were engaged in friendly conversation and beer-drinking with the monarch, the Zulu warriors suddenly rushed upon them and, after a short contest, massacred them to a man. Owen, who at that time was missionary near the royal kraal, has left a description of this horrible deed of treachery perpetrated by Dingan on the unfortunate Retief and his followers.

This was followed by the destruction of a body of farmers who had already occupied the basin of the Upper Tugela. Six hundred persons are said on this occasion to have fallen victims to the Zulus. Meantime the English settlers had invaded Zululand, and carried off not only thousands of cattle, but women and children. War of course ensued, in which the English settlers took part with the Boers in the hope of more plunder.

Cane and Ogle were the leaders of the English, and the jealousy and animosity which existed between them resulted in one of the most dreadful disasters of the many that have occurred in South Africa. When they crossed the Tugela 10,000 Zulus were sent to repel them. The Zulus suffered severely,

and lost thousands ; “ they were cut down until they formed banks, over which those who were advancing had to climb.” They advanced nevertheless ; Cane was killed, and a frightful slaughter of the fugitive settlers and natives took place at the Tugela river. The Zulus advanced to Natal ; the English sought safety on an island in the middle of the bay ; and in about a fortnight’s time, everything that the settlers had at Natal was destroyed, and their cattle driven away. “ The Zulus left not a vestige of anything remaining, except perhaps the walls of some of the houses.”

In December 1838 another great battle was fought between Dingan’s forces and the Boers, which resulted in a decisive victory for the latter. This victory was followed by a treaty, by which Dingan agreed to restore the horses, cattle, and guns that had fallen into his hands, and relinquished to the Dutch the country south-west of the Tugela.

Soon after this treaty of peace Panda, Dingan’s brother, made overtures to the Dutch for protection and support against the king. Four hundred Boers, in flagrant violation of their treaty of peace, then united with 4,000 men under Panda, in an invasion of the Zulu country. But while they were collecting their forces, a messenger, Tambuza by name, arrived from Dingan with offers of peace. This ambassador and his attendant were seized. Panda accused the

former of having been the principal cause of the murder of Retief and his party; "he was taken along with the army as a prisoner until they reached the banks of the Buffalo river, where a court-martial was formed which, under the excited feelings of the occasion, soon passed a sentence of death upon the unfortunate prisoner." His attendant, a Zulu lad, was also put to death.

A few days afterwards, Panda's army defeated his brother, who was slain in attempting to escape through a hostile tribe; and on Valentine's day, 1840, Pretorius, the Dutch commander, at a great assembly of the Boers held on the banks of the Folesi, proclaimed Panda sole king of the Zulus. As some indemnity for their generous sacrifices on behalf of the new king, they received from him 36,000 head of cattle. In the same proclamation Pretorius seized, in the name of the Volks-Raad, all the land from the Tugela to the Black River, "on account of the unprovoked war which the Zulu king or the Zulu nation" had commenced against the South African Society, without a previous declaration of the same.

Thus closes the first chapter of the relations between the Zulus, the English, and the Dutch. It is not necessary to conclude that all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other. The Zulus had certainly some justification for resisting the advent

of the Dutch, and the treachery of Dingan to Retief was a deed which naturally justified revenge, though scarcely the murder of Tambuza, the Zulu envoy, nor the violation of the treaty of peace. The English settlers also had some cause of grievance against Dingan, but nothing to give the least colour of right to their raids into the Zulu country, not merely as cattle-stealers, but as the abductors of Zulu women and children. This wrong was indeed wiped out by the consequences of the battle of the Tugela, and the destruction of Natal; but it was quite inevitable that the lawless proceedings of the Dutch and English settlers should have been regarded with very little favour by the mother colony at the Cape; nor can it be matter of surprise that the mother country itself should now have begun to assert its authority over the settlers at Natal, who had made so bad a use of their emancipation from the allegiance they had repudiated.



CHAPTER II.

PANDA'S REIGN.

Reforms forced on Panda by the Boers—Connection between English and Dutch farmers in Natal—Republic of Natalia—Natal taken by the English and made an English colony in 1842—New policy of the colony towards the natives—Definition of the boundaries—Non-interference with Panda—Trade between the colony and Zululand—The refugee question—Proclamation against enticing refugees in 1854—Beginning of Cetewayo's power—Zulu revolution of 1856—Conflicting stories about part played by Mr. John Dunn—Panda in 1868—His power, fatness, and cruelty.

PANDA is said to have been an inferior savage, mentally and physically, to his two predecessors; yet in cruelty, if he did not surpass them, he was at least their equal. For the overdriving of an ox, it is said, that a native might be impaled. Yet it was one of the conditions on which the Boers undertook to assist him to overthrow his brother Dingan that, "in future, he should allow no punishment of death to be inflicted for supposed witchcraft, or other ridiculous superstitious pretences," nor "allow any woman, child, or defenceless aged person to be murdered; nor declare war, nor permit any hostility of his people with any neighbouring chiefs or

tribes without the consent of the Assembly of the emigrants."

These conditions prove that the Boers, with all their faults, had, or professed to have, as sincere a wish to ameliorate the condition of the Zulus as of late has been evinced by our own authorities at Natal. It appears however that, but for their pressure, Panda would not, after all, have made war against his brother, though originally he had joined in alliance with them for that special purpose.

Panda was completely under Dutch control; the Boers expected him to take part with his forces with them in any commandos they undertook; and there is some reason to believe that they desired his assistance against the English Government when, in 1842, we asserted our claims to the territory of Natal.

This brings us to the question how it happened that the English emigrants, who not only had been the first to settle at Natal, but who had obtained (as they alleged) definite grants of the territory from Chaka and Dingan, should have suffered, and even assisted, the Boers to obtain a grant of the same territory from the Zulu king? The probable explanation is, that they regarded the Dutch emigrants as a valuable accession to their own strength, and hoped to find them serviceable allies in the acquisition of wealth by the help they would afford them in robbing the natives of their cattle, and in carry-

Xing off their women and children to serve them as slaves. In December, 1839, the Dutch hoisted at Natal the new colours of the Republic of Natalia.

But the English Government still regarded the Boers as British subjects, and protested against the establishment of a republican form of government at Natal. The details of the negotiations between the Dutch and ourselves, and the war that ensued, have no present interest; suffice it to say, that before the end of 1842 Natal had been taken by our forces from Dutch control. It became thenceforth a British colony under the Government of the Queen, and we thus assumed a position in regard to the Zulus similar to that we have since taken by our annexation of the Transvaal.

The difference which this action on the part of Government made in the position of the Zulus, as contrasted with their position under Dutch rule, is manifest from the Proclamation made on May 12th, 1843, on the appointment of the Commissioner of Natal, which sufficiently indicates the character of the previous alliance of the Anglo-Dutch Republic. The 6th section of that Proclamation made three conditions "absolutely indispensable to the permission" then given to the emigrants to occupy the territory in question.

These conditions were:—

1. That, in the eye of the law, there should be

no distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed.

2. *That no aggression should be sanctioned on the natives beyond the limits of the colony on any plea whatever, by any private person or body of men, without Governmental authority.*

3. *That slavery, in any shape or under any modification, was absolutely unlawful.*

A Proclamation of August 21st, 1845, defined the territorial boundaries of Natal to be: on the north-east, from the mouth of the Tugela along the right bank to the junction of that river with the Umsingati; from that point along the right bank of the latter river to its source in the Draaksberg Mountains; then along the south-east base of those mountains to the source of the principal western branch of the Umzimkulu River, and so to the sea.

Two years later Panda's signature was obtained to the recognition of the above boundaries, he at the same time assuring the Lieutenant-Governor of his friendship to the British Government, and expressing a wish for such friendship to continue, on the ground that he felt the English to be "his fathers."

Thus peace began for the settlers and the natives. No attempt was made to interfere with Panda, the

king ; and a rule of justice took the place of one of cruelty and slavery. In consequence Panda never attempted to disturb the English, nor to make war upon the colony.

In order to prevent the Zulus leaving his territory for the colony, or for making raids for stealing cattle, he had a space of country left unoccupied, fifty or sixty miles broad, along the whole frontier line ; and any Zulu caught thus attempting to cross the boundary was taken back and put to death. When the fierce war occurred between the Zulus and the Amaswazi, they were left to fight it out between themselves.

Trade between Zululand and Natal now began, the natives giving cattle and ivory for blankets, beads, buttons, or picks. Sometimes, however, Panda would refuse to let any white man enter his territory, or would only allow barter for guns and gunpowder. It was already a complaint in 1866 that "large quantities of the munitions of war" had thus found their way into the country. It is evident that Panda was regarded rather as an independent chief than as a vassal of the British colony, and that he enjoyed to the full the policy, inaugurated by his new neighbours, of strict and absolute non-inter-vention.

Nothing appears to have disturbed the harmony of our relations with the Zulus for many years, though

there is but little reason to believe that Panda's rule over his subjects was any great improvement over that of his predecessors. Crimes were punished with the same barbarity as of old, until, it is said, Cetewayo introduced a milder form of policy in this direction.

The little that the Natal Ordinances and Proclamations contain, from 1843 to 1855, concerning our relations with the Zulus proves that those relations continued on the wise and benevolent footing to establish which had been the chief pretext for making Natal a colony of the Empire.

The only difficulty which appears to have continued to be serious during Panda's reign was that of the refugees, a difficulty which, from the beginning of the settlement at Natal, had been the most fruitful source of contention between the English and the Zulus, a difficulty which Captain Gardiner tried to settle by his subsequently repudiated treaty, and a difficulty which has continued to be the main cause of trouble and bitterness to this very day.

A Proclamation in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor, dated November 15th, 1854, runs as follows :—

“Whereas the practice of enticing or encouraging subjects of the chief, Panda, to enter this district as refugees by traders and others from Natal, has not only become a matter of just remonstrance on the

part of that chief, but a cause of much loss of life to the unfortunate refugees themselves :

“ And whereas, in a late instance, the death in Panda’s country of a subject of this Government has been caused by a perseverance in the practice alluded to :

“ And whereas, from the circumstances attending the death of this man it is quite impossible for me to interfere, either by remonstrance or otherwise, and that the effect of this non-interference may result in the persons and property of traders and others, contravening any regulations in the Zulu country, being less scrupulously restricted than heretofore :

“ And whereas I am desirous of duly cautioning all concerned, and especially such as are, or have been, in the *habit of enticing or encouraging refugees from Panda’s country into this district*, in order that they may be fully aware of the danger in which they place themselves :

“ Now, therefore, I do most solemnly caution all traders and others, the subjects of this Government, resorting to the Zulu country for the purposes of trading or hunting, and give them to understand that, in so doing, *they become for the time being subject to the laws of that country, and that this Government cannot in any way interfere* should they, by the commission of any such unlawful acts as those

above alluded to, or by any other means, place their lives in jeopardy :

“ And I give this public warning in the earnest hope that all concerned will conduct themselves, while in the Zulu country, with the prudence and moderation so necessary for the safety of their persons and property ; and with the respect due to the authority of the government of *an independent and friendly chief.*”

It is common to represent Panda as a mild ruler, with a disposition to adopt English reforms. A letter from Major Butler, dated July 3, 1875, throws some doubt on this. He says : “ The trekking of the Boers is rapidly denuding Natal of its white population, and *the daily increasing numbers flocking from Panda's cruelty* threaten to occupy the country.”

Although Cetewayo did not actually become king till 1872, he was virtually king during the reign of his father Panda. For more than twenty years all political power had practically devolved upon him, and though he continued to accord to his father all the outward tokens of sovereignty, his word was as much the law of the land as if the king himself had spoken it. He actually succeeded his father in 1872.

His power really dates from the year 1856, at which time he first attracted colonial notice. The

relations between royal princes in Zululand are always a source of danger to the state, owing to the fact that generally the son of the Great Wife, who is not necessarily the first wife, is appointed heir-apparent, so that the first-born son often finds himself, at the death of his father, legally an outcast from the royal residence and a subject of some younger son. It has been supposed that the revolution by which Dingan succeeded to Chaka was simply an assertion by the son of a Great Wife of the rights which his elder and more powerful brother had usurped.

Amid the many conflicting stories given of the events of 1856, it is impossible to arrive at the truth. The following version is only one of many:—

Panda, who had for some years regarded Cetewayo as his heir, suddenly changed his mind in favour of another brother, Umbulazi. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* Civil war was the result, and Umbulazi, whose forces were inferior to those of his brother, applied to the nearest British official for assistance. The latter answered that he was unauthorized to interfere: his interpreter, however, Mr. John Dunn, with a small body-guard, crossed the Tugela, with the hope of negotiating a peace between the combatants.

Cetewayo, thinking that the British force, because they had taken up their quarters with his brother,

were therefore ranged against himself, returned no answers to messages sent to him with overtures of negotiations. A Dutch contingent, under a Natal settler, was professedly supporting Umbulazi. The interpreter, proceeding at last in person to Cetewayo's camp, was fired upon, and nearly killed. This was the signal for the battle, or rather the rout, which ensued. The whole army of Umbulazi took to flight, and was massacred without mercy to the number, it is believed, of 6,000 men. Of the interpreter's party of sixty only about ten returned alive, and some neutral English traders had the utmost difficulty in escaping across the river to the Natal side. Twelve of their waggons were entirely sacked, and 1,600 head of cattle driven off; their loss being estimated at £4,000.

The traders attributed their loss and danger solely to the belief of Cetewayo's forces that the English contingent was acting under the British Government, but for which, they thought, no plunder would have been committed, nor anything taken from them that would not have been promptly returned on application. Mr. John Dunn, whose name figures prominently in recent Zulu affairs, was strongly condemned at the time.

It is characteristic of the stories always current in the colony concerning Zululand that, in an account of this civil war in the *Natal Journal* of January 1857,

it is stated as a rumour that Umbulazi had been caught and flayed alive, and then tortured by hot ashes and stinging ants. Panda was also supposed to be dead, and his favourite wife to have had her eyes cut out with assegais, and then sent to seek death where she could find it. The report concerning Umbulazi was refuted by the fact that it is only the Amaxosæ, not the Zulus, who practise the barbarity said to have been perpetrated on Umbulazi.

Another rumour in the colony was, that Cetewayo, so far from being a ferocious and bloodthirsty man who had attacked his brother, was really mild and amiable, and Umbulazi a bloodthirsty wretch who provoked Cetewayo's people by killing some of his women and children. The very contradictory stories of the Zulu revolution show that, wherever else Truth is to be found, no ship in search of her need touch at Natal. They are worth notice on that account. How little there is known of what passes in Zululand is evident, not only from the scanty notices we have of the whole of Panda's reign, but from the story of the missionary who, on arriving at Panda's court, expressed his pleasure at finding that monarch so well since he had heard that he was dead. It is a great breach of Zulu etiquette to speak of death in connection with royalty, so Panda replied, "We never speak of such things here," and changed the conversation.

The Zulu revolution of 1856 has by some been represented as a rebellion of Cetewayo against his father Panda ; by others as merely a struggle with his younger brothers. That it was not the former is evident from Leslie's account, who, in 1868, found his way to Panda's kraal. Panda had still much authority in the land, and Cetewayo had then not availed himself, during a space of twelve years, of opportunities of completing his ambition by parricide or war. Panda was enormously fat and wheeled about in a little waggon. The people would run in front of him, to remove the least bit of stick, grass, or stone from the path of his waggon. They would creep on their hands and knees in his presence, shouting out King of kings, Lion, Zulu, and other expressions of Zulu adulation. His commands were obeyed instantaneously, and so great was his power, and so ruthless his exercise of it, that if any one displeased him he would simply say, "Beat him" or "Take him away" (meaning "Kill him"), and instantly fifty ready fellows would dart forward, only too happy to execute his commands.



CHAPTER III.

RECENT ZULU HISTORY.

Uncertainty about Zulu affairs at Natal—Rumour of annexation in 1864—Continuance of the refugee difficulty—Cetewayo's measures to check the custom—Attempt in 1861 by the Natal Government to improve internal government of Zululand—Cetewayo's demand for two brothers who were refugees in English territory—Panic in 1862 in Natal about Cetewayo's designs—measures taken against them—The Dutch and Zulu land disputes—Different accounts of, by Leslie and Holden—English Commission of Inquiry—Results of their award—The Boers convicted of forgery and oppression—Sir H. Bulwer's account of Boer proceedings.

It is not easy to arrive at much knowledge of the events that have passed in Zululand since the revolution of 1856. The colony of Natal, on which we are dependent for such grains of history as have been thought worth recording, is in its turn dependent on the rumours and reports which traders and hunters bring back with them from Zululand; and these men have interests in the country and, possibly, designs which render their information not always trustworthy. The internal state or political feeling of Zululand belongs always to speculation, or fancy; nothing authentic is ever known about it, though

much of course is guessed and reported, especially by resident missionaries: a fact which lately has produced much trouble.

The relations between the colony and the Zulus are also obscure; in 1864 we find a mention by the American missionary Mr. Grout of a rumour in the colony of an intended annexation of at least a part of the Zulu country north of the Tugela, which had been pledged to the Zulus on the word of the English Government.

Some of the leading facts, however, which have chiefly contributed to produce the present state of affairs, may to a certain extent be recovered.

The refugee difficulty has always, from the days of Dingan, been the primary obstacle to the maintenance of friendly relations between the Zulus and Natal; and it appears to have been one of the sorest subjects of suspicion in Cetewayo's mind that the Colonial Government have persistently refused to send back to him his two youngest brothers who escaped into English territory after the battle of the Tugela in 1856. The historical meaning of that battle has never been satisfactorily discovered, but, from the place of its occurrence, it would almost seem that it was associated, on the part of Umbulazi's army, with an attempt to escape from Zulu jurisdiction, in other words, that they were regarded as refugees.

Dr. Mann, writing of Cetewayo in 1873, speaks of that king as being "naturally opposed to the secession of the Zulus;" and as having not hesitated, "in his resolution to arrest the wholesale exodus with which he has been threatened," to adopt the most extreme measures of relentless cruelty. But for a long time before 1873 (the year in which the attempt was made to bind Cetewayo to greater regard for human life in Zululand) it was known that Zulus had been killed on the mere suspicion of intending clandestinely to cross the Tugela.

Even so long ago as 1861 an effort was made "to put an end to this wretched destruction of life beyond the Zulu border, by advising Umpanda (Panda) formally to acknowledge the succession of Cetewayo to the Zulu chieftainship after his own decease." Sir Theophilus Shepstone went on that occasion to the royal kraal, and a general meeting of Zulus was summoned, at which Cetewayo appeared, somewhat unwillingly, with a following of about 8,000 young savages, all with a short lance hidden under their shields. "Cetewayo's party were obviously suspicious of the good faith of the English authorities, and demanded the return of *Umkungu and Isokota as a proof of the friendly intentions of the English.*" That is to say, a fear evidently exists, and has existed for many years, in the mind of Cetewayo, that the English mean and have meant

some day to deal with him as the Dutch formerly dealt with Dingan, namely, to supersede him by making one of his brothers king in his stead.

But notwithstanding the good wishes of the English authorities, "no improvement followed in the one important point of preventing deeds of frequent violence towards those who were suspected of being too friendly to the old chief's ascendancy, or who attempted to free themselves from the savage thralldom by unauthorized escape." Indeed the very next year (1862) it was rumoured in Natal that Cetewayo had trained a party of his young men to ride, and that he had planned a sudden raid into the country where his brothers were living, intending either to sweep them away or destroy them. The lads consequently were removed to a safe place; a force of Natal Kaffirs and a company of soldiers were sent to the border; and small standing military camps of observation were established along the Zulu border. Cetewayo, surprised and greatly frightened, fled, protesting (as is most likely true) that he knew nothing whatever of the designs attributed to him.

The Colonial Government had some years previously sought to lessen the immigration of disaffected Zulus by subjecting every refugee to be apportioned by a magistrate to some colonist for a period of three years' service, and by ordering that

all cattle driven across the river with the refugees should be returned. These measures were never entirely effectual. Of the fifty-nine tribes, or clans, into which the native population of the Natal Colony is divided, seven tribes are said in 1873 to have consisted of Zulu refugees.

These facts help to explain the dread always felt by Cetewayo of English influence, and the relative state of feeling that has existed between the governments on each side of the Tugela for some time past. It will be a curious repetition of history if, at the end of this war, one of Cetewayo's brothers (he seems to have many) should be made king in the place of Cetewayo, just as Panda was substituted by the Boers for Dingan.

Much has been heard lately of the land dispute between the Zulus and Boers, and though it is known that our arbitration commissioners adjudged the land to belong of right to the Zulus, the circumstances of the dispute are perhaps less generally known, though they are interesting as serving to throw light on the more recent history of Zululand. The information Mr. Leslie obtained at considerable pains from persons who had spent some time at the headquarters of the Zulu Government is as follows. It is one account of the matter, and it is of interest as enabling us to compare the several stories.

About 1858 the Zulu cattle were being swept

away by the lung-sickness, and Panda sent a message to the Boers asking them for cattle. The Boers, in reply, sent him fifty head and some sheep, and not long afterwards asked in return to be allowed to live in certain Zulu districts. By the custom of *gupana*, which makes any petitioned return of an obligation a strict duty, the Zulu king sent some of his captains to inform the Boers that they might live as squatters in the thinly-populated upper districts of Zululand. The Boers immediately demanded that a deed of transfer should be signed, and beacons set up as boundaries. The Zulu delegate refused to exceed his instructions; a stick was forced into his hand, and he was made to sign a mark; stakes were driven in for beacons, and about one-third of the Zulu country marked off as Boer. Cetewayo sent a regiment to drive away the Boers and tear up their beacons, but with those who were settled in the country by the terms of his father's permission he did not meddle in any way. Then began the quarrel; the Boers insisted on their right to the land in payment of the cattle they had given, and in accordance with the deed of transfer signed by the Zulu delegate. The Zulus at last held a council, at which, after a first impulse to decide the matter by war, they agreed to settle the misunderstanding by giving back to the Boers not only the fifty oxen, but a thousand more in addition.

Mr. Leslie gives the above as the Zulu version of this affair. It will be seen to differ somewhat from the next account, no less than from that of official authority, as contained in the award.

Mr. Holden, the Wesleyan missionary, quotes from a *Gazette* of September, 1861, the following as part of a message sent by Panda to the Lieutenant-governor of Natal about the time of the Zulu Revolution in 1856. As it refers to the policy of the Boers twenty years ago, it throws some light on the subsequent troubles they have caused. The purport of the message is as follows :

Panda and Cetewayo sent to inform the Lieutenant-governor that they were threatened with hostilities by the Boers ; that when Cetewayo demanded from them his two brothers who had fled to them (not, it must be supposed, those who are or were in Natal country), they asked for certain lands to be made over to them. Cetewayo said the country was not his to give, but belonged to his father. He, however, received the boys back, and consented to send one of them to ascertain what country they wanted. He went and found it was land that the Zulu people could not consent to give, because it would separate them from, and interfere with, their intercourse with Natal. On the spot Gebula said he had no power to consent. When asked to sign a paper, he refused ; and so did

Sirayo, a chief Induna, who was also present. But when they were told it was only meant to show President Pretorius that they had been to inspect the territory by Cetewayo's desire, they affixed their mark. Soon afterwards the Boers sent seventy head of cattle to thank him for the land *given* them by Cetewayo. Panda said he knew nothing of it, and referred them to Cetewayo. Cetewayo not only denied having given, but declared his inability to have done so. When it came to the paper they admitted it was of no value, but persisted in their claim for land, and said that they wanted all the waters running from the north into the Tugela down to the sea, and along the coast to the St. Lucia Bay for the use of their ships. Cetewayo refusing also to consent to this, "they went away in great anger, saying that they would take that country by force." Their cattle they took back with them.

The following facts concerning the disputed land and the documents on which the Boers claimed a right to them, are drawn from the award of the Commissioners of Inquiry.

The documents on which the Boers based their claims were written in high Dutch, not in the patois spoken by the Boers of the country. They were hardly intelligible even to the witnesses who appeared before the Commission, and who declared

that they had not only signed them, but interpreted them from Dutch into Zulu to the Zulu parties who signed !

“No copies of these documents appear to have been given to the Zulu king or nation.” They are said “to reflect in some degree upon the acts of the Dutch, and their conduct from the year 1854 to the year 1870.”

These are the mild expressions of an official paper ; but the same source shows and intimates, with very little reserve, that throughout their dealings with the Zulus the Boers have resorted not only to trickery, deceit, and force, but even to downright forgery, for the purpose of establishing themselves on the lands they coveted.

The different lands claimed by the Boers rested on two different supposed grants, one made in 1854, the other in 1861.

The treaty made between the English and Zulus in 1843, which defined the English territory to lie within the boundaries previously stated, left as Zulu territory the land which the Dutch have subsequently claimed or possessed.

The document purporting to prove the grant of land by Panda to the Boers in 1854, contained the king's signature to a cession of indefinite extent, and was witnessed by neither Boer nor Zulu. It is supposed that the obscurity of the definition of

boundaries in this document "was purposely left obscure, to facilitate future land extension."

The Commissioners, therefore, naturally attached no value to the documentary evidence of the cession of 1854. But that which was originally but a right to graze cattle so strengthened with time, that in a proclamation of November 1859, much of the Zulu territory was incorporated with the Dutch Republic.

The Boers claimed also other lands, said to have been ceded in 1861.

In June 1860, the Republic appointed a commission to regulate certain matters as regards land between the Republic and the Zulus. Among other instructions it is interesting to note, as evincing the Dutch ambition of the time, an instruction to arrange for the future succession of Cetewayo to his father, Panda, and to explain to the former that his appointment would depend not only on his proving an enemy to all useless bloodshed, but on his promising to be obedient to the Transvaal Government, not to make war beyond the Zulu boundary without their consent, nor to molest the British Government in Natal or the Orange Free State. He was also to understand that he was appointed "in the name of the people and the South African Republic." In other words, he was to be as complete a vassal in their hands as his father, Panda, had been previous to the interference of the British arms. Each member of the

Commission was to be allowed a farm on the land of which, it was hoped, they would obtain the grant.

Early in 1861 two of Panda's sons and two chiefs fled from Zulu territory to seek protection from the Boers against Cetewayo, who had killed Panda's wife, the mother of Umfonga. Cetewayo sent messengers to thank the Boers for stopping the refugees, and, according to the Boer story, to offer them an offensive and defensive alliance in the name of all the Zulus, in consequence of an unpopular treaty lately made between Panda and the English; also to offer them land.

This grant of land Cetewayo is said to have made conditionally on the surrender of his brothers and their cattle; a condition which the Boers only complied with on the promise of a signed declaration that he would spare his brothers' lives. Shortly afterwards the Commissioners made agreements with Cetewayo in accordance with the instructions previously given to them. The boundaries of the land then ceded were to be defined by a border commission. Cetewayo's signature and that of his plenipotentiaries were attested, and the grant confirmed by Panda.

Three years later, 1864, beacons, or piles of stone, were set up as boundary marks, soon after which difficulties arose. The Commission represented to Panda that they had paid for the land with twenty-five head of cattle, but Panda declared it was the

first time he had heard of it. A fair quarrel thus began.

It appears that Cetewayo, who is generally represented as the head of the Anti-English party in Zululand, complained to the British Government. The Boer Commission informed the Zulu Massipula (or chief minister), that if Cetewayo again complained to the British Government the South African Republic "would deal severely with them, and that they would also endanger their lives." Five years later, the same land still being matter of dispute, the Boers again "took Panda and his captains to task for requesting the Governor of Natal to intervene" about the boundary, informing them that they did not want the Governor of Natal as arbitrator between them. The reasonable idea of settling the dispute by arbitration belonged, therefore, to the Zulus, not to the Boers.

It, however, came to arbitration at last. The Transvaal Government appealed to several documents said to have been signed by Panda. One of these was proved, by a flagrant error of a date, to be "*plainly a fabrication.*" The Commission not unnaturally considered "the whole arrangement with *grave suspicion,*" it being simply impossible, under Zulu customs, that a large tract of border should have been taken from the clans without the full knowledge and sanction of the chiefs, who, one and

all, most emphatically denied that one rood of land had ever been alienated.

Cattle-lifting on both sides prevailed between the Boers and the Zulus, and "there was not much order kept by the government of the South African Republic on the Zulu border." For instance, when a Zulu had been "wantonly shot by a small party of Boers," the matter was suffered to drop. It is said that instances of this sort might be multiplied.

Ever since 1856 the Zulus sent frequent messages to the Natal Government, reporting the Boer encroachments on their land, and requesting assistance. They abstained from seeking redress by arms, trusting to obtain an effectual and peaceable remedy by arbitration. This they at last obtained; but nothing is more remarkable, nothing more creditable to the Zulus, than that about a dispute, which they might easily have made a pretext for war during a long course of years, they should have consented to wait for a legal remedy and a peaceable settlement. Is it that the Zulus are really a far more pacific people than at present they have the credit of being? What nation in Europe ever waited so long for peaceful arbitration concerning a spoliation of their territory?

With regard to reports proving that the Zulus had, before waiting for the judgment of the Commission, driven off the white settlers and other Transvaal subjects from the disputed lands, Sir H. Bulwer

replied to Sir B. Frere on August 12, 1878, that he thought there had been "a good deal of misconception and exaggeration" in the matter.

Sir H. Bulwer adds, that "it was the Government of the Republic, or its subjects with its sanction expressed or unexpressed, who, bent on acquiring a portion of the Zulu country, and possibly with the view of ultimately becoming masters of the whole country, pushed the boundaries of the Republic further and further into Zululand, disregarding the rights of the Zulu nation, and refusing to listen to their complaints, and to the proposals that were made for the dispute coming under the cognizance and judgment of a neutral power. By force of circumstances the subjects of the Transvaal were enabled to hold the lands then acquired by them for several years, and now, when the day of settlement has come, they may turn round and say that they are the aggrieved, and that the Zulus are the aggressors. But we must not forget that, if the action of the Zulus has of late been of an aggressive character, it is aggression by those who hold themselves to be the aggrieved."

Again he writes: "Bit by bit the farmers of the Transvaal had advanced into the Zulu country, pushing forward towards the sea, till they had almost hemmed the Zulus into a corner. 'In a little while,' said the old king, Panda, 'the Boers will not leave me room enough in which to stretch my legs.'"

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOERS.

Dutch zeal for the welfare of native races—A similar zeal shown by the Spaniards in Peru—Good treatment of the Zulus by the English, and beneficial results—Dr. Livingstone's account of the Boers—Their cattle-lifting and man-stealing—The Boers accused of cowardice by Livingstone—The plan of a Commando—Livingstone's account corroborated by Sir Arthur Cunynghame—The annexation of the Transvaal justified by the conduct of the Boers.

SOME idea of the Boers and of their Government will have been derived from the foregoing account of the difficulties they have caused in South Africa; and the evidence of the Commission goes to prove that they are as ruthless now in dealing with native life or land as they ever were in former times. It remains to complete the picture of them, not from the imagination, but from writers so justly entitled to speak with authority as Dr. Livingstone and Sir Arthur Cunynghame.

It may be proved from authentic documents that the Dutch, who left the Cape Colony from and after the year 1834, were not only religious men, but men who, on paper at least, showed some zeal for the

improvement and welfare of the native races. In their dealings with Panda they were earnest in pledging him to a reformed mode of government and to greater respect for Zulu life; and it has been seen that not even their love of land would tempt them to betray to Cetewayo the brothers who had sought protection and refuge in their midst without an assurance that their lives should be spared.

But professions of zeal for the promotion of civilization have been only too often the pretext and preface of the most savage cruelties that have darkened human history. When Pizarro received from Charles V. the right of discovery and conquest of Peru or New Castile, he was expressly commanded not only to observe regulations for the good government and protection of the natives, but to take with him a certain number of ecclesiastics, whose efforts were to be dedicated to the service and conversion of the Indians. And so strictly were these orders observed that whenever a Peruvian infidel was burnt alive at the stake a Dominican father stood at his side to convert him, if possible, even at the last moment. There is some analogy between the Dutch and the Spaniards.

There is this difference between the English and Dutch professions of zeal for the improvement of native races, that the former have been made in earnest and carried out in practice, and that where

we have agreed that boundaries shall be fixed, there they have remained. From 1843 till the present date we have observed the boundary treaty by which the Zulus hold their territory. "The Zulus," says the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, "soon found out that the English Government had no aggressive designs, that it was contented to keep the boundaries laid down in its treaty with the Zulu nation in 1843, and that it was friendly and moderate in its dealings." The natives of South Africa have long since learnt to distinguish between the English and the Dutch; and their conclusions have been drawn "altogether in favour of the English, whose general treatment of them has been milder, more conciliatory, and more just." Hence our influence has been very great in preventing the Zulus redressing their wrongs by force of arms.

Dr. Livingstone, in reference to the Boers, distinguishes between those of the Cape, "who for the most part are sober, industrious, and hospitable," and those "who have fled from English law, and have been joined by every variety of bad character." Those, he says, belonged to the latter class, who, feeling aggrieved by the emancipation of their Hottentot slaves, determined to remove to distant localities, where they could erect themselves into a republic, and grow rich unmolested by making slaves of the blacks. The Transvaal Republic

was founded by men of the latter class, and as it is their doings that have committed us to the present war, in consequence of our new relations with the Zulus,—brought about by our annexation of the Dutch Republic of the Transvaal,—it is a matter of some interest to form a true idea from history of the character of our new allies, whose rights and responsibilities we have thus taken upon ourselves.

There is no difference, save in place, between the Transvaal Republic and the so-called Republic of Natalia. The same title which justified our appropriation of the one justifies our appropriation of the other—the title, that is, of our more humane treatment of the native races.

When the Bechuanas, who had suffered much from a Kaffir tribe, became acquainted with the Boers, they said that Mosilikatze was cruel to his enemies and kind to those he conquered, but that the Boers destroyed their enemies and made slaves of their friends.

The plan of the Boers has always been to make the natives labour gratuitously for them, in consideration of letting them live in *Dutch* territory. Livingstone says : “I have myself seen Boers come to a village, and, according to their custom, demand twenty or thirty women to weed their gardens.” This custom only regards their supply of field-labourers. Their demand for domestic servants

is met by forays on tribes which have good supplies of cattle. For this two pleas generally suffice, first, that of *an intended uprising of the doomed tribe*, and, secondly, a prospect of a share in the pilfered herds. "It is difficult," says Livingstone, "to conceive that men possessing the common attributes of humanity (and these Boers are by no means destitute of the better feelings of our nature) should set out, after caressing their wives and children, and proceed to shoot down men and women whose affections are as warm as their own." The generous-minded missionary was long before he would credit the tales of bloodshed he was told by native witnesses; he only accepted it on their own testimony. "Yet," he adds with surprise, "they are all traditionally religious, and trace their descent from some of the best men the world ever saw."

The Boers, according to Dr. Livingstone, are also cowards. "They were brave enough against peaceable tribes like the Bechuanas; but from the hour the Kaffirs obtained fire-arms not one Boer attempted to settle in Kaffirland, or even to face the enemy in the field. These magnanimous colonists have manifested a marked antipathy to anything but 'long-shot' warfare, and, sidling away in their emigrations towards the more effeminate Bechuanas, have left their quarrels to be fought out by the English, and their wars to be paid for by English gold."

The Boer plan of action, when cattle and slave-children are wanted, is as safe as it is simple. One or two friendly tribes are forced to accompany a troop of mounted Boers, and are ranged in front to form a "shield." "The Boers then coolly fire over their heads, till the devoted people flee, and leave cattle, wives, and children to the captors." Livingstone could attest nine instances of such frays, in none of which was a drop of Boer blood shed. It is a form of sport as safe as rabbit-shooting, but more exciting.

The custom in the Transvaal of granting to the son of every settler a farm, at about the age of sixteen, resulted at last in the grant of allotments on lands which the Zulus declared they had never alienated, and from which they repulsed the Dutch immigrants. In the contests that resulted the Boers were accustomed to carry all before them. "With their double-barrelled guns," says Sir A. Cunynghame, "and the long roer they had terrified the savage armed only with the assegai, and, when they had met with opposition, had quickly subdued it, *after the manner of Cortes and Pizarro*, putting the men to death, and carrying the women and young children to their farms to work as "apprentices."

It is well known that slavery, from the year of our manumission of the slaves, was the primary

cause of all our subsequent troubles with the Dutch. "The question of slavery," says Sir Arthur Cunyng-hame, "has ever been a sore one with the Dutch. They are so attached to that institution that they will not readily consent to live in any country where it is abolished." As, however, it was contrary to a convention they made with the English to make slaves of native children, they *apprenticed* them to work on their farms for terms of years.

Among the disputed lands which the Dutch claimed, and to possess which they prepared a "commando," was Secocoeni's country. Secocoeni and other natives looked to the English as their only friends against the Boers. Secocoeni said, that if he were beaten by the Boers he would apply to the great chief at the Cape to become a British subject; he would sooner give his country to the English than one inch of ground to the Boers. He sent to the gold fields to invite the English to come to trade with him, and to say that as he loved them so he hoped they also loved him.

The natives, now in possession of Enfield rifles and muskets sold to them for their labour at the diamond mines, defeated the Boers. It rests on the evidence of whites as well as blacks that the latter massacred women and children in some of their contests with them. The President of the Transvaal denied these atrocities, but as they are

quite in keeping with the whole of Dutch history at the Cape, they are possibly true.

When Sir Theophilus Shepstone arrived in 1876 as Commissioner to try to restore order in the Transvaal, he found the people so disheartened by their defeats that they refused to pay the war taxes; the treasury too was empty, and credit gone. Under these circumstances the Volksraad was called upon to decide on the question of a confederation of the Transvaal with the other British Colonies. It, however, broke up without deciding, and not long afterwards the Transvaal was formally annexed to Great Britain, a measure which, next perhaps to our emancipation of the slaves, promised to be the most beneficent measure ever undertaken by this country on behalf of oppressed native races. As to the wishes of the Boers, they were rightly treated with the summary disregard they deserved. The state of hostility that their aggressiveness, or (as Leslie calls it) "their inordinate lust of land," produced, threatened to unite all white men without distinction in the destruction they provoked, and produced a state of constant irritation. The President of course protested against the annexation, and it seems to have been carried into effect against the wishes of the Boer community. So, however, was the annexation of Natal in 1842.

CHAPTER V.

CETEWAYO.

Sudden moral deterioration of Cetewayo—Leslie's visit to the king in 1868—No notice of his cruelty—Feeling of Cetewayo ten years ago to the English and Dutch—Evidence of the eye-witness Magema—Story told him by two converts of the murders of converts—Account given by Cetewayo of the same—Power of diviners in Zululand—Great conflict of evidence about Cetewayo—Bishop Schreuder's interview with Cetewayo in 1875—His remonstrances about the killing of Zulus—Imperious behaviour of the Bishop.

FROM 1856 till quite recently Cetewayo's conduct as regent or king has attracted no attention outside Zululand; no sympathy has ever before been called for on behalf of the Zulu bachelors, nor has any suspicion of the "grievous oppression of his people," by the maintenance of "a formidable military despotism," roused a just indignation in the free breasts of Britons.

But history does record instances of the sudden demoralization of kings, of outbursts of tyranny on their part which are all the more inexplicable from their being quite out of keeping with the man's moral antecedents. Nero, Caligula, Ivan the Terri-

ble, are instances of such unlooked-for transformations.

It is, therefore, possible that the recent stories of Cetewayo, which have found their way into all our public prints, are true, in spite of the fact that for twenty years the relations between the colony and Cetewayo have been most friendly, and in spite of the fact that the demoralization of the king should have so suddenly come to shock the whole civilized world. One of two things must be true: either Cetewayo has been uniformly and persistently tyrannical and cruel, or, his enormities are only of recent date; thus we are presented with a striking moral problem, in the latter case as regards himself only, in the former as regards Natal. For it must be held to argue a certain sluggishness in the moral sentiment of Natal that it should have taken a period of more than twenty years to rouse it to its present state of righteous indignation, if, during all that time, Cetewayo was ruling as he is reported to be ruling to-day. As this is hardly possible, so the alternative is forced upon us that Cetewayo's tyrannical tendencies have, curiously enough, chanced to coincide in time with our annexation of the Transvaal.

That this is so is rendered probable by the visit of David Leslie to Cetewayo in 1868, for in that account, though he had then been virtually king

for twelve years, there is not a word or suspicion of these cruel propensities which have lately made his name so notorious.

Mr. Leslie visited Cetewayo's kraal, and, whilst he was there, King Panda sent instructions to Cetewayo, and to his regiment, to marry; whereupon Cetewayo sent for all the men within thirty miles round to come, with their regiments, to his kraal to celebrate this happy occasion. Mr. Leslie could not but admire the way in which Cetewayo, for the space of nine days, received daily at least 200 different head-men, each of whom he would address by name, and with whom he would discuss the business which brought them to his residence.

In person Cetewayo is described by Leslie as "a good-looking, tall, powerful man," with a tendency to obesity, and with small hands and feet. As to his courtiers or chief captains, "three hundred handsomer specimens of humanity it would," says Leslie, "have been difficult to bring together anywhere."

It is interesting to notice what, at that time, was the impression produced on Leslie as to the state of feeling then prevalent in Zululand towards ourselves and the Dutch. This may be gathered from a letter written by Leslie in the *Natal Herald* of October, 1869, in which he expresses his belief that, "in consequence of the misgovernment of the Boers

and their inordinate lust for land, trouble is not unlikely to ensue between ourselves and the Zulus," whilst he notes at the same time as "the characteristics of the present generation of Zulus, and of their ruler Cetewayo," a "friendly feeling on their part towards the British, and their utter contempt and dislike for everything Boer."

It appears, therefore, that about ten years ago there was nothing abnormally cruel about Cetewayo, whilst the fact, that he himself, as well as his regiment, could only marry when his father's permission came to him, proves that the original marriage law of Chaka had not disappeared from Zululand; that it is not a recent innovation of Cetewayo's, and that there is no more need now to raise a philanthropic agitation on behalf of Zulu bachelors than there ever has been during all the time we have been connected with Natal.

Leslie's evidence is the evidence of an eye-witness, a kind of evidence with regard to Cetewayo which is unfortunately and remarkably scarce. The stories lately told of his enormities may, of course, be true, and it would be unreasonable to prejudge the case. It is easier than it is philosophical to reject everything we would gladly disbelieve on the ground that it only rests on hearsay evidence. Whately could show by logic that Napoleon never existed, and the logic is quite as direct which proves

to its own satisfaction that Cetewayo's cruelties are fictitious. It behoves us, therefore, to find, if possible, the evidence of some recent eye-witness, of some one able to speak from recent personal observation, of the actual government of the Zulu monarch.

The testimony of such an eye-witness was published in the March number of *Macmillan's Magazine* for 1878, under the authority of Bishop Colenso, as a translation from the Zulu. It is an account by a native of Natal, named Magema, of his experience in a visit to Cetewayo. Magema was the manager of Bishop Colenso's printing-office, and had been with him for twenty years. The Bishop prefaces his translation by alluding to the exaggerated accounts even then (October, 1877) sent to England of the atrocities committed by orders of the king, in dealing with numerous native converts.

The writer was told on starting that he would be killed in Zululand, since Cetewayo was killing right and left; nevertheless he proceeded, encouraged by the answer he received to his inquiries on the subject, that no one was killed unless he had done wrong.

This was the story he was told about the killing of the converts *by two converts then in Zululand and at the royal kraal*: The dependent of a chief wished to become a Christian; the chief, Gaozi, sought to prevent it, but finally suffered it on con-

dition that the convert should not tell the king. But after a year the king became aware of the fact through a missionary, and was astonished that Gaozi had been silent about it. Gaozi, alarmed, sent men to kill the convert. Cetewayo had nothing to say to it. Yet we are told that at least three converts were killed, ostensibly by the king's order, and certainly by his tacit permission and sufferance.

Another convert was killed for poisoning, because, innocently, he had given some Zulus some diseased meat which made many of them ill. Cetewayo was indignant with the sufferers for thus having taken the law into their own hands.

When the missionary Mondi sent to inquire of the king why the missionaries and their converts were obliged to run away from Zululand, Cetewayo, who was ignorant of the fact, replied "that Mondi might go away if he liked, or might stay if he did not wish to go."

The name of the royal kraal is, being interpreted, "Let the whole force come on," a name given it as a kind of menace and defiance to the Boers if they dared to attack the king. So the name of Dingan's kraal signified "the rumbling sound of the elephant." Such names are thought to inspire a salutary terror.

The intrepid Magema, at his first interview with

Cetewayo, inquired whether it was true that he killed people continually without trial, and for no cause; to which the king replied, that so far from this being true, it was his constant endeavour to prevent the Zulus killing one another; an answer which is in complete accordance with the fact stated by Leslie, that Cetewayo has abolished capital punishment for all crimes save witchcraft.

Magama asked other questions, the replies to which may be briefly summarized. Cetewayo did not know why the missionaries had gone; he had treated them kindly, but since they had gone away *secretly*, without taking leave of him, they should never come back, for they had never done him any good; "all they did was to say that all the people ought to be converted." Cetewayo gave the same account of the murders of the converts that Magema had heard from the two converts.

Speaking of his relations to the whites the king said: "They are talking—talking—talking, and they want to come down with might upon me. But, for my part, as I have done no wrong, I will not run away. And yet through that I know that the ruin of the land will come. . . . It is only myself in person that has done homage to the English, I have not done homage for these people of ours."

The thing with which Magema found most fault

in Zululand was the great power allowed to the *Izanusi* or diviners, whose impositions Chaka and Dingan had done their best to destroy; but the words which, in his farewell interview with the two chief Indunas of the king, he uses on this subject are very remarkable. "I wish to tell you," he says, "that all the Zulus across the Tugela (*i.e.*, refugees in Natal) wish to return here to-day, being oppressed with trouble coming from the white men through having to pay much money to the government and to the white landowners. But I assure you that there is not one who will come back to be killed, for truly you are people ruled by *Izanusi* who tell you that this or that person is an evil-doer." That is, immunity from the false accusations of wizards is the only advantage, in the eyes of our Natal black subjects, which British rule has over Zulu, and Zulu rule, under a man like Cetewayo.

Magema declares that Cetewayo has quite abandoned the policy of his uncles in regard to crimes and punishments, following that of the English in preference. "He does not wish to hear with one ear only. If one man has gone to inform against another he summons him who has been informed against, that he may hear and decide the case properly. *If a man has committed a great crime, he makes him pay a fine with cattle.* During all the time I stayed in Zululand I saw Cetewayo

sitting in his seat judging the causes of his people, and his judgment was excellent and satisfactory."

What shall we say then? That Magera has grossly lied and Bishop Colenso been grossly deceived? or, that Cetewayo has been still more grossly maligned? In so wide a conflict of evidence which view shall we elect as most likely to be true? Reason replies, that view which would seem most likely to be true if the conflict of evidence regarded some point, say, of Assyrian history; or, if fear should exist of thus conniving at evil by refusing to believe or even by doubting it, let the accusation be dismissed as for the present non-proven.

As, however, reason always gives these cold and unsatisfactory answers, let us seek a more decided opinion. The story is well known of the American who defended himself against one of his friends in this way: "No, I did not say that you were a liar; all I said was, that if I saw you walking down that street with Ananias and Sapphira, I should say, There goes a family party." In the same way we shall perhaps be justified in thinking, not that all the stories told about Cetewayo are lies, but that, if we rank them with our beliefs about the cruelties of Phalaris and Busiris, we shall be most likely to entertain a true judgment regarding them.

In a Blue Book, now three years old, there is a letter which sheds some light on the dark recent history of

South African affairs. It was written by Bishop Schreuder, the Norwegian missionary, to the Secretary for Native Affairs at Natal, and its date, which is important, is August 20, 1875. It is the Bishop's account of his delivery to Cetewayo of the presentation copy of the book of the new laws, which the king is popularly supposed to have assented to at his coronation in 1873. It is quite clear, from the following account, what kind of assent that was, which was confirmed by seventeen cannon discharges by the English of the one part, and by shield-striking by the Zulus of the other part.

The bishop, when presenting the book, recalled the circumstances of the new law, and explained its "generation" in this way: "It was born an infant, it went across the water, the child of a king, to seek for kingship, and it found it; it was made king far away, and here it is returned with its rank to its own country, Zululand. . . . This book has to-day rank; it took that rank beyond the water, *it has come back a king, and is supreme in this country.*"

Cetewayo and his grandees then began to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the new laws; but Schreuder said: "My opinion is that the chiefs across the Tugela did not tell me to take back to them your answer, because your right words to the new law are completed. They are many,—no more

are necessary. *The thing wanted is your acts in accordance with that law.*"

The bishop then referred to the *many reports* (then 1875) *circulated in Natal of the extensive killing of people all over the Zululand*, concluding his remarks on this head thus: "I tell you seriously, king, your reputation is bad among the whites; and though it is not yet officially reported to the Government, still it has come to its ears, all these bloody rumours, and nobody can tell what may be the consequences hereafter—to-morrow."

The king then "tried to point out that you (*i.e.*, Sir Theophilus Shepstone), in your report, had left out to inform the Queen that he, in his transactions with you, had reserved to himself the right of killing people who kill others. . . . who sin against or steal the king's property; that it is royal Zulu prerogative. . . . at the accession to the throne, to make raid on neighbouring tribes." Being shown the fallacy of these ideas, he "made in self-defence some silly remarks, and was of course supported by the Izinduna (head chiefs) in the usual Zulu-duda way, but, most remarkable, in a very tame way." The bishop divided the opposition of the grandees and the king by telling the latter that owing to his not interfering with the cruelty of his grandees, his power and reputation suffered alike. "The grandees are concealed behind their king in the bad

rumours over in Natal ; so the king gains a bad name and blame for the whole, while the grandees gain the satisfaction of succeeding (in) killing people they dislike."

The king assented to these remarks. When he then *made some feeble efforts to retrieve what was lost, by again trying to discuss the merits of the Report*, the bishop thought it high time to cut further parlance short, which he did by a most imperious and peremptory speech, in which he said :—

"Even when Her Majesty Victoria, her present councillors, and the rest of us are no more, *the Umteto* (book of new laws) *will be there, and numerous copies of it are in the hands of the white people, so that they at present and in future times will be able to compare whether the doings of yours are in accordance or at variance with that law, and take their measures accordingly.* Victoria binds herself by books, and so you are bound by this book of new law that now is ruling supreme ; that is the long and short of it, for this book of the law will decay with the country."

The king and councillors, knowing well the classical meaning of this expression "decay with the law," left off further arguing in a very tame way.

The bishop then handed the king a splendid copy of the new law, who, pointing to the mat under his feet, said, "Lay it down there." "No," replied the bishop, "that won't do ; the book is not at your feet, but you are at the feet of the book don't

make any difficulty." The king therewith complied, putting his head between his hands, and muttering, "Oh dear, oh dear, what a man this is;" he evidently felt so much out of his depth that he quite forgot to ask for a royal cloak, and dropped into begging for a dog to bark for him at night.

The bishop then told Cetewayo that he was obliged to return to his new station in Natal, as in Zululand then there was *no work for missionaries so long as he* (Cetewayo) *prohibited his subjects from becoming Christians*. Before leaving, however, he sought to intimidate the king by telling him of the reported Confederation of South African states, pointing the moral, that if any white or black nation molested or invaded any of the four confederated states they would all combine against and fight such black or white nation.

The inferences of this most interesting, but already buried interview, may be wrong, but they are irresistible, and they are these: that the new laws accepted by Cetewayo at his coronation were not accepted willingly; that they were forced upon him, not from any philanthropic interest or love for the Zulus, but in order to have a handle against the Zulu government whenever an opportunity occurred to make violation of these said laws a pretext for annexing the long coveted country north of the Tugela; that reports of atrocities in Zululand have, so far from

being recent, been for at least four years purposely circulated in Natal, and made use of by missionaries in order the sooner to justify the destruction of the independence of Zululand.



CHAPTER VI.

MISSIONS TO THE ZULUS.

The result of mission work in South Africa—First mission to the Zulus under Captain Gardiner—His hospitable reception—The result of his mission—American mission to Zululand in 1834—Broken up by the disturbances caused by the Boers—The massacre of Retief, and Mr. Owen's account of it—Zululand deserted by missionaries till 1840, and again in 1842—Converts regarded as refugees—The first Norwegian mission to Panda—How Bishop Schreuder got leave to teach in Zululand—His favour with Cetewayo—Missionaries regarded as spies—Mr. Oftebro's account of recent mission history—Execution of converts—Flight of missionaries.

BISHOP CALLAWAY, in a letter to Sir Bartle Frere dated August 14th, 1878, uses these melancholy words: "In looking over the past we cannot boast of any great success, either as a civilizing or Christianizing power in South Africa. . . . the progress has been so small in proportion to the efforts made as naturally to raise a doubt whether, up to the present time, the best policy has been adopted either by the missionaries or by the Government."

These remarkable words, and the fact that the missionary question is one of the pretexts of the present war, render a short account of the history

of missions to that country of more general interest than it might otherwise deserve.

Although the improvement and welfare of the natives were among the professed objects and hopes of the original settlement at Natal, it was not till the year 1835 that any active measures were taken for endeavouring to Christianize the Zulus. The first laudable effort of this sort is associated with the name of Captain Allen Gardiner, who in that year visited the Zulu king, Dingan, and who has left a most interesting account of his adventures and reception.

Captain Gardiner was received "with great civility" by a chief Induna at one of the military kraals; and, proceeding on his journey, was met by a petty chief who had received orders to conduct him with all haste to the capital, and to kill a beast in his honour.

Near the capital the Captain was surrounded by about thirty or forty women, who, laughing and shouting as they went, accompanied him towards the royal kraal. Arrived there, two huts were appointed to the traveller and his companions, not far from the hut of the principal Induna. Food and beer were sent by Dingan, and soon afterwards orders came to approach the royal presence. The party were desired to sit at a short distance outside the fence of the palace. "After a little pause the bust only of a very

stout personage appeared above the fence," which, they were soon informed, belonged to the despot himself. He stared at the Captain for some time with the utmost gravity and without a word, and then pointing to an ox, said, "There is the beast I give you to slaughter." Thereupon he disappeared.

In a subsequent interview the Captain found great difficulty in explaining the object of his visit, and the king's mind turned far more readily to the question of certain presents that were coming for him than to the plan of the conversion of his people. The request to build a house for the purpose of teaching appeared a knotty point, to which, however, no distinct denial was given. The Zulu king seemed himself to have no personal objection, but he mentioned a reference to his two chief Indunas as a preliminary requisite, and unfortunately these two men conceived a dislike to the white visitors, so much so, that the latter underwent, for some time, a good deal of petty persecution. The reason for this is rather curious, for Captain Gardiner was afterwards told that the convict Jacob, who had played so important a part in the early days of the settlement, having conceived a grudge against the settlers, had made the following prophecy to King Chaka: "That a white man, assuming the character of a teacher, would one day arrive, and would obtain permission to build a house; that shortly after he would be joined by one

or two more white men ; and in the course of time an army would enter his country, which would subvert his government, and eventually the white people would rule in his stead." It is strange that a prophecy from such a source should have come so nearly and so literally true.

Captain Gardiner could not prevail on Dingan to allow missionary work in Zululand ; all he obtained was leave to settle and teach at Natal. He was chiefly instrumental in negotiating the famous treaty between Dingan and the settlers relative to the refugees, which has already been noticed. In accordance with this treaty he personally conducted back to Zululand three refugees, who, in spite of all his remonstrances, were starved to death by the king's orders. The Captain's career was a sad one. The settlers at Natal quarrelled with him, and repudiated his treaty, and he afterwards died of starvation on a mission to the Patagonians.

He wrote the following recollections of his residence at the Zulu capital, which give a vivid idea of the accommodation to be met with in a Zulu hut :—

“ Once entered, I forgot the pain
My broken back sustained ;
But when obliged to crawl again,
From tears I scarce refrained.

“ To stand erect I never tried,
For reasons you may guess ;
Full fourteen feet my hut was wide,
Its height was nine feet less.

“The solid ground my softest bed,
A mat my mattress made;
The friendly saddle raised my head,
As in my cloak I laid.

“The homely lizard, harmless, crept
Unnoticed through the door;
And rats their gambols round me kept
While sleeping on the floor.”

In 1834 the Americans first turned their attention to the spiritual wants of Zululand. It was soon after the failure of Captain Gardiner's first mission that the Rev. A. Grout arrived at Dingan's capital. There, though “they were received and treated with kindness,” the king showed himself no readier than before to facilitate their scheme. He proposed that they should reside and open a school near Port Natal, but that they should first spend some time in his dominions, in order that he might judge of the character of their labours. They stayed six days at the capital, and were hospitably supplied with goats, oxen, and other food.

On a second visit permission was obtained to make a station some ten miles on the Zulu side of the Tugela. The missionaries' house was built of stones and mud, covered with grass; the floor was made of earth taken from an ant-hill; mats and reeds served for doors and windows. The king sent a few pupils, and the Sunday congregations are said to have quickly numbered some five or six hundred.

This mission was broken up by an attack of the Boers upon the natives, in January, 1837, so that these generous efforts of the Americans fell for a season into abeyance, and they were forced to join their colleagues at Natal.

The Boers have often shown themselves quite as hostile to missions as the natives themselves. In the region of Mosega they plundered a missionary's house, reduced his station to ashes, and compelled the missionaries to leave the country. Thence they proceeded to Dr. Livingstone's station, "plundered his house, destroyed his books and medicines, carried off his furniture and clothes, and took two hundred native school-children captive, in the year 1852."

The murder of Retief, already related, was an important event in the history of missions to the Zulus. The Rev. F. Owen, who had returned from England with Captain Gardiner, and who was at that time (February 1838) living as a missionary near the capital, having been there for five months, was a spectator of that horrible scene. Though Dingan professed friendliness to the Englishmen, it was naturally an anxious moment when half a dozen Zulus came armed and sat down before his hut. But nothing is more inexplicable in Mr. Owen's account of this affair than that the king should have sent to inform him of the intended massacre, appa-

rently to obtain his countenance of the treachery, and that Mr. Owen should have said nothing of it to two Boers who breakfasted with him that very morning, two hours before the massacre occurred. "Two of the Boers paid me a visit this morning, and breakfasted, only two hours before they were called into another world. When I asked them what they thought of Dingan, they said, 'He was good,' so unsuspecting were they of his intentions. . . . To Dingan's message this morning I sent as guarded a reply as I could; knowing that it would be both foolish and dangerous to accuse him, at such a season, of perfidy and cruelty. However, as his message to me was kind and well-intended, showing a regard to my feelings, as well as to my safety, I judged it prudent and proper to thank him for it."

It appears clear from Mr. Owen's evidence that, rightly or wrongly, Dingan thought the Boers intended to kill him, and that he meant to anticipate their plot by killing them; also, that Dingan wished to save from murder the Boer's interpreter, an *Englishman* from Natal, which is another proof that the English have always held in Zulu estimation a far higher favour than has been felt for the Boers. If it is true, as stated in one account, that "for the purpose of making a display of their arms, their prowess and power, the Boers got up a sham

fight on horseback," the Zulu monarch may well have had some grounds for his fears.

Mr. Venable, an American missionary, met the king on the morning of the massacre, but was told by him "that the missionaries had nothing to fear, as he considered them his friends." Both Mr. Owen, Mr. Venable, and other missionaries were perhaps wise in their resolution to leave Zululand without delay, though the king manifested some reluctance in allowing them to depart. All the stations were for the time abandoned.

But missionaries are famous for their perseverance, and in 1840 Mr. Grout recommenced his labours in Zululand, and in a part of the country so thickly inhabited, that his day-school and Sunday meetings were well attended. "At length, however, the king, perceiving that some of the people, who lived even at a distance from the station, were flocking to it as a *place of refuge*, and that some who lived about the station were gradually beginning, as he thought, to forget their allegiance to him, and to attach themselves to the missionary, sent a military force to punish and destroy them. Both the missionary and his people were, for some months, in a measure aware that Dingan's favour was not towards them. Hence the people about the station shunned the king's presence, and kept away from the royal residence; all which, in its turn, served

to exasperate the king, and widen the breach between him and his suspected subjects.”

So in July, 1842, that is, in Panda's reign, an attack was made upon half a dozen of the nearer kraals, three of which were doomed to utter destruction. No violence was done to the missionary, who forthwith returned to Natal with such of the surviving natives as attached themselves to him.

It is of course impossible to judge from the above account all that it contains, but the event helps to elucidate the feelings with which the present Zulu monarch, and the Zulu people generally, regard the subject of missionary teaching. There is no compromise between the two parties, so that it is not unnatural if a missionary in Zululand is regarded with suspicion as an agitator, as a man who reduces the power of the people by tempting many of them to become refugees.

From 1842 the missionaries devoted themselves to the Natal Kaffirs, the years 1855 and 1856 being famous for the great discussions on the subject of polygamy, an institution the sufferance of which was pleaded for by Bishop Colenso in opposition to the principles of the American missionaries, but in conformity with the only reasonable hopes for ultimate success among the natives.

That the Zulus are not the only tribe of savages in South Africa who have an aversion to missions is

proved by the fact, that the chief and the tribe of the Amaswazi (or Swaziland) would not suffer the Berlin mission to remain in their country.

In 1843 a Norwegian missionary, Herr Schreuder, arrived at Natal, and paid two visits to Panda, seeking permission to build and teach in Zululand. This the king is said to have refused, except on condition that the missionary would first consent to kill the people who had deserted him, and who were then living at Mr. Grout's station in the Natal district. So that, evidently, Zulu kings claim as strict an allegiance over those born within their territory as every civilized country in Europe claims; and are hostile to missions mainly because they weaken that allegiance, and thereby diminish the joys of sovereignty.

Herr Schreuder was a patient man, and ultimately won his way. He waited, learned the Zulu language thoroughly, travelled to China and back, established a mission among the Natal Kaffirs, and at last, owing to his skill in relieving Panda of the pain of gout, obtained leave to reside and teach in Zululand. By the assistance of his colleagues, Lorsen and Oftebro, the Norwegian mission was enabled to devote its attention no less to the Zulu than to the Natal Kaffirs. Books were printed by them in the Zulu language, and a Zulu grammar was written.

It appears that Bishop Schreuder continued in

favour with Cetewayo, in spite of the asserted hostility of that monarch to the missionaries as a body; for few things are more deserving of notice than that in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1878, after the English Ultimatum had been sent to the king making his conduct towards the missionaries one of the main grounds of our quarrel, Bishop Schreuder should have expressed his intention of sending, if possible, a message to Cetewayo, *soliciting his aid in giving him some of his people to take care meanwhile of his station*, as, under the circumstances of the time, he could no longer prevail on his congregation to keep together. That is to say, it is actually to the Zulu king that a Norwegian missionary looks for assistance and protection in a time of approaching war between the Zulus and the English.

Although Bishop Schreuder was suffered by Panda to reside in Zululand as a missionary, it was more as a doctor than as a teacher; for, when some sixteen members of the Hanoverian mission sought his help to procure for them also a settlement in the country, he told them that he had little hopes of success, and that *on account of the arbitrary caprice of the King, a stable colony could hardly be founded in Zululand, because it would be in continual danger of being driven away*. So he advised them to settle in Natal, under English protection.

This occurred in 1854, and proves, what the

history of all missions to the Zulus proves, that the insecurity of missions in that country has always been as great as it is now represented to be under Cetewayo ; and that the latter, in his present policy, is simply following the policy we never felt called upon to resent by arms in the cases of Dingan and Panda.

From this review of the attempts to found missions in Zululand the inference may be drawn, that the main difficulty is not the question of "polygamy," but of "allegiance." Zulu monarchs are so far from being personally hostile to missions that they have, from the time when Dingan received Gardiner, Grant, Owen, and others, with so much hospitality, only objected to their teaching as leading logically to a desertion of their allegiance. Such conduct is of course very unchristian, but it is very natural.

But in addition to the dislike of the Zulu kings to men whose presence, as the above account shows, does sometimes lead to civil contention or rebellion, it would seem that the missionaries are regarded as spies, as men who, as whites, whether from friendly or hostile motives, will tell other whites all about them. A correspondent asserts in the *Times* of January 28, 1879, that missionaries have *certainly in many cases acted as spies* ; and it is only necessary to refer to the Blue Books to prove that the Government at Natal does acquire, perhaps, its

most trustworthy information from missionaries resident in Zululand.

It is difficult, from the sources at present at our disposal, to judge of the position of missionaries in Zululand since the reign of Panda, but the broad facts are stated in the Blue Book by Sir Bartle Frere to be : that, at the time when the Norwegian missionaries were obliged to leave Zululand, they had been established there for more than a quarter of a century with the permission of the great chief, and the general assent of his people (this must refer to Schreuder, who was rather a doctor than a missionary), and that, at the time of Panda's death, the Norwegians had nine stations, the Hanoverians ten, and the English Church three or four. Cetewayo is also said to have manifested ill-will towards the missionaries at his coronation, but to have agreed to let those then in the country remain, subject to his right to expel any offender, with the assent of the Governor of Natal.

Mr. Oftebro, the Norwegian missionary, gives the following history of recent mission-history in the country. In 1850, King Panda consented to their building a station and commencing operations, and, though the work was difficult and progressed slowly, the king himself was friendly, especially after the civil war of 1856, during which crisis they stayed in the country and were unmolested.

After that war more missionaries were admitted, and more stations built. The victorious Cetewayo showed a desire to be friendly, "and seemed for a while to be impressed with the advantage of Christianity and civilization," and the stopping of an epidemic of small-pox by vaccination raised the missionaries in public esteem. The missionaries, however, could not succeed in getting children to attend school, and though King Panda "could not understand the use of a Zulu becoming a convert, he tolerated it," and, *after a space of twenty-two years, the Norwegians could boast of only one hundred converts.*

Cetewayo became hostile to mission work before the death of his father in 1872, shortly after which he accused them (wrongly, as the king himself afterwards admitted) "with having reported his father's death to the Government of Natal."

At Cetewayo's installation in 1873, "but for the interference of the English representative," Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who made the agreement with the king already referred to, the missionaries considered that they would have had to leave the country at once.

Three years later rumours arose that Cetewayo intended to kill all Zulus who became converts, rumours apparently quite without foundation; for when, in February, 1877, the missionaries waited on the king to remonstrate with him for refusing to recognize

converts as Zulu subjects, he was "exceedingly friendly," said "the converts could sit quiet, they were his people together with the missionaries, and he would call them when he had any special work for them to do."

For years before this the king had steadily refused to recognize converts as his subjects, both he and his chiefs insisting that they *belonged* to the missionaries. That is to say, a Zulu convert is looked upon legally as a dependent of the missionaries in the sense that the original Zulu refugees became the dependents of Farewell, King, and other early English settlers.

Shortly after this interview a convert was killed "as a witch" (not as a convert). Then an old Zulu was killed (it is said) "because he believed." Nine other "impi's," or execution parties to different stations, were also "heard of."

More painful details of executions in Zululand have recently been collected; but, though they rest on missionary testimony, it is evident that the kind of testimony which finds its way into a Blue Book is not of a kind which would make a witness feel at ease in the witness-box.

These rumours frightened the missionaries, who were not personally (*according to the evidence of the Blue Book*) in the least danger; they sent to the Lt.-Governor of Natal a request for his interference

on their behalf. In June of that year (1877), before going to an annual mission conference at Natal, they conformed with Zulu custom so far as to inform the king of their intention, and to tell him that one of their subjects of discussion would be, the advisability of leaving Zululand.

After the conference the missionaries told Cetewayo that they had decided to stay another year, and expressed the hope that he would change his mind about the mission work. "He seemed pleased, and said we were 'men' who acted openly and honestly."

Mission work was continued under difficulties; the king and chief men were opposed to it; and "*certain white persons, for reasons best known to themselves,*" appear to have done "*their best to make the king believe that his country would be better without the missionaries.*"

Then came the annual Great Feast, at which not only men, but women and cattle were ordered to appear, to the great disquiet of Zulu minds. A chief, Usihayo, built a kraal near a missionary's house to compel him to leave, so in February, 1878, the missionaries decided to complain to the king. He refused to see them, because he had learnt *that Mr. Gundersen and the doctors had written reports unfavourable to the king of what had happened at the last Great Feast, and sent them to the Govern-*

ments of Natal and the Transvaal, and to the newspapers.

The missionaries denied the charge ; but next day the king told them he now knew they were his enemies, 1. Because all his friends, black and *white*, told him so ; and 2, because the report in question could only have been written by eye-witnesses, and “as none but the doctors and Mr. Gundersen had been present at the feast, it must have been written by them.” The king would have no protestations ; “he wished strongly that we should leave his country, *but he would not drive us out.*” He threw the missionaries off, that is, he would no longer protect them. They replied that they could not stay without his protection, and that they would be obliged to leave.

Sir H. Bulwer did his best to satisfy Cetewayo of their innocence. Sir Theophilus Shepstone advised them quietly to leave Zululand, and express a hope to the king that he would alter his opinion about them and their work. Accordingly they did so, and laid before the king the *proofs of their innocence.* Cetewayo, then in mourning, refused to see them, but accepted their testimonials, and requested them “to inform him who was the guilty party,” a request with which they naturally refused to comply, less apparently from any inability so to do than from a proper sense of duty to their comrades.

The chiefs (previously charged with being hostile to missionaries) at this crisis evidently wished them not to leave. Even Cetewayo, when he heard they were packing up, sent messages to some of them to stay, and to others to say they could stay if they liked. They said they had to leave now, but as soon as he would permit his people to be taught and become Christians they would return. They then went to Natal.

The above affecting story has been given somewhat at length, both because it is interesting in itself as exemplifying the difficult position of that excellent class of men who usually constitute the forerunners of Christian conquest and annexation in a country like Zululand, and because it is the plain unvarnished tale of the sufferings of the missionaries which Sir Bartle Frere sent to the Home Government. As it is in a Blue Book it may, perhaps, be believed. It entirely corroborates Magema's story, referred to in the account of his visit to Cetewayo.



CHAPTER VII.

ZULU GOVERNMENT AND LAWS.

Position of a Zulu king—Regarded as Father of the Nation—Hence his consent necessary for marriages—Power of Zulu kings—their cruelties—Checks on despotism—Land national property—Two principal chiefs or prime ministers—Subordinate chiefs—Judicial tribunals—The Amapakati or Great Council—Succession to the monarchy—Not the custom of Zulu kings to kill their brothers—Punishment of crimes—Zulu laws and lawsuits—Principal crimes—Amelioration of penal laws by Cetewayo—Witchcraft now the only capital offence—Diviners—their position and duties.

DIFFERENT travellers have given very different estimates of Zulu character generally. Leslie describes them as “a happy race, kindly dispositioned, and generous according to their means, but terrible thieves nevertheless.” “A morose, sullen, savage set of monsters,” says Isaacs, “fit only for deeds of darkness and for the devastations of war;” but it appears he rather alludes to the warriors than to the great mass of the people. The German missionary Döhne considered them greedy, untrustworthy, avaricious, peaceable, gossiping, immoral.

Delineations of national character, as pourtrayed

by different writers, are notoriously inconsistent and conflicting; it is therefore better to seek for a general idea of the Zulu people by considering the nature of the government and laws under which they live, and which are as characteristic of the people that evolved them as the Code Napoleon is of the French nation, or as the laws of Menu are of the Hindus.

The great power which, in Zululand, belongs to the king, is the natural development of the native patriarchal idea of government: this regards the nation as simply an extension of the family, and the chief ruler as the father and absolute controller of its destinies. Consequently, among the other titles, such as Elephant, Lion, Heaven, by which the Zulus address their chief, is the softer title, Father. He is therefore not only their governor, but is also their counsellor. "He is the centre of their thoughts and actions; with him rest their prospects and even their lives; they are entirely *dependent on him and on their parents for counsel and aid, not only in marrying but in every emergency.*" Just as each kraal owner is absolute master of his wives, children, and dependents, with power to punish them, and the interest to treat them well; so the king has the power to punish, and the interest to treat well the several kraal owners, or heads of families constituting his dominion. Since the

days of Chaka, the control which the Zulu king has exercised over the right of marriage is simply an extension of the control which every Zulu parent exercises in his kraal over the marriages of his children, and in virtue of which no younger son can marry before his eldest brother.

The kingly power is carried so far that the form of government is usually denominated "a military despotism." Once, when a regiment was performing some evolutions before King Panda, he flew into a violent rage because one of his soldiers wore his hair rather longer than was customary, and he ordered his execution on the spot.

This case is typical of the disregard of human life which Zulu kings have always displayed, and of the insecure tenure on which life is held, especially by those who come near the radiance of the throne. Without believing all the stories that are told of Chaka's cruelty, which, like those of Cetewayo, rest chiefly on the authority of refugees or of Natal settlers, it is impossible to read the narrative of Isaacs (one of the first English visitors to the Zulu court), without shuddering at the lengths to which despotism can be carried among savages, and at the barbarities frequently perpetrated by it.

But, unbounded as was Chaka's political power and cruelty, there were certain checks even to his despotism. It is said that he never resolved on

great state matters without consulting his chief officers, and being sure of the approval of the people. The two 'great nobles,' who, with him, formed a sort of triumvirate government, were called "the two eyes, ears, or arms of the monarch."

Again, a Zulu king is assumed to be proprietor of everything : people, land, and cattle, lying at his disposal ; but there are certain limitations in practice. Thus, no one can be killed but for some offence, (often trivial enough), and though the cattle of any one killed pass legally to the king, there are certain recognized portions which go to his captains, and from them again to their people. The consent of his captains is required if the king wishes to make war ; nor can he, without the consent of the tribe in council, allot any land ; since he only stands to it in the position of a national trustee, all land being regarded as national property, and no such thing as real property existing, though certain rights are recognized with respect to the sites of kraals and to pasture-lands.

The first act of a new monarch is to appoint two principal chiefs, who govern the two extremities of the royal kraal, and who, in their turn, appoint chiefs at all the kraals throughout Zululand. These two chiefs are next in political rank to the king, and are as essential to the exercise of his power as arms are essential to the force of a human body. As was

said above, they are called "his arms, eyes, or ears."

Then come the subordinate chiefs, or heads of kraals, who serve as intermediate agents between the government and the people. These three orders in the state constitute three judicial tribunals: the heads of kraals decide all the minor offences that are committed; graver crimes are tried by tribunals connected with the principal ministers; whilst, for the gravest crimes of all, the co-operation of the king is deemed essential. Thus it will be seen that the Zulus are as capable of political self-organization as they are gifted in describing a circle without the use of compass or measure; indeed, their capacity for political and military organization entitles them to a much higher place among savages generally, than in other respects they would seem entitled to claim.

The centralization of the Zulu government is sustained, and treason and rebellion to some extent prevented, by the custom which compels the chief heads of kraals to go once every year to the royal kraal, there to stay for a period which may vary from a few weeks to a few months. Whilst they are there they constitute the king's circle, his council, or Amapakati. They constitute the chief's legal advisers, and form the National Council, without whose consent no great measure can be passed. When some leave, others arrive, so that the king is always aware

of the needs or proceedings of the different districts of the kingdom, and the sentiment of tribal unity is constantly maintained. Whilst at the king's kraal they are fed at his expense, so that the fines and confiscations by which the king's treasury is constantly replenished are necessary to the prestige and pomp of royalty.

Though the Zulu monarchy is hereditary, it is not so on the eldest, nor on any particular son; nor is it the king's first wife who is generally selected as the mother of the heir. Arbousset, indeed, says that the heir to the throne is never the king's first male child—a rule which must prove a frequent source of civil contention. It is thought that this custom may have originated in an attempt to ward off the danger of parricide, or expulsion, by a too impatient or ambitious heir, by transferring the honour to a later-born and perhaps much younger son.

That it is not a custom with the force of law (as is sometimes stated) in Zululand for a new king to massacre his brothers, is proved by the fact that Chaka's brothers lived long enough in his kingdom for them finally to conspire against him and kill him; and that Dingan, who succeeded his brother Chaka, was in his turn succeeded by his younger brother Panda. The Zulus expected that, when Cetewayo became king, he would kill all his brothers that were not born of the same mother; but this expectation appears to

have resulted from the civil war which occurred some years before, when Panda, after having first appointed Cetewayo his successor, altered his mind, and made another son his heir-apparent. In the civil war that resulted the latter was defeated and slain, and the recollection of that experience may well have created the belief that Cetewayo's accession to the throne would be marked by the murder of his unfortunate brothers, as the most secure mode for preventing future civil war. In point of fact, Cetewayo only became king after a sanguinary battle with his brothers, in which he was victorious.

Chaka's despotism struck the first English observers as so ruthless and arbitrary that Zulu life appeared to them as not only exposed to constant atrocities, but as rather spent in them. Crimes were indeed brutally punished, and those about the king stood in constant peril of their lives; yet life appears to have been tolerably secure away from the capital, and any kraal where the laws were not broken enjoyed content and tranquillity. In private differences the decision of the chief of a kraal was always final, and his award seldom exceeded corporal chastisement or fines of cattle. A native, whose cattle trespassed on the cornfields of his neighbour, would be bound to make reparation by the present of a cow or calf, according to the damage done. Offences between individuals would be expiated by a peace-offering sent

by the offender. Even for crimes which were taken before the royal tribunal, there was a regular legal process; witnesses on each side being heard most minutely, and sworn to truth by a sacred oath to their ancestors.

The Zulus are greatly addicted to litigation, and it is said that, in legal pleadings, their intellectual powers are most strikingly displayed, though their law-suits are still more tedious and loaded with repetition than they are in other countries. The principal litigants and witnesses are sworn on oath, by appeals sometimes to their ancestors, sometimes to deceased chiefs, sometimes to the living chief, or to living relations. Precedents, or the decisions of former chiefs, are carefully followed or referred to; nor does there appear to be any uncertainty in the administration of the law, or of the punishment attached to each crime or offence. Responsibility is collective, not personal, so that, for example, if a man is convicted of treason, all his belongings follow his fate. "Eating up," or the driving away of all a man's cattle, is the greatest fine that can be levied by the king.

Notwithstanding the cruelty displayed in Zulu warfare, murder is said not to be of frequent occurrence. Attempts to poison are numerous, and the native knowledge of poisons is so extensive that almost every kraal has its "poison-maker," whose

business it is to make experiments with herbs and roots for the purpose of producing the most efficacious poison. There are many stories that prove the prevalence of this practice. Cattle-stealing has been rare since Chaka's efforts to suppress it. Witchcraft is perhaps the commonest crime for which men suffer; for the idea of natural death, of a death not caused by means of magic, seems to exceed altogether Zulu canons of credibility or likelihood.

In the early days of our acquaintance with Zululand the penal laws were much more cruel than they are now. According to Isaacs, murder, adultery, desertion, treason, cowardice, and witchcraft were capital crimes; and to these Gardiner adds the offence of speaking evil of the king.

Lies, thefts, disrespect, violations of customs, want of attention in dancing, were punished according to the king's whim; by death sometimes, more frequently by a beating. Coughing, or sneezing, whilst the king was at meals, might be punished capitally; but, generally, the offender would be beaten away, or would restore himself to favour by the present of a young heifer to the offended monarch.

Capital punishment took the form of stoning, strangling, dislocating the neck, beating with clubs, sometimes of impalement. A crime committed by a chief was punished by the destruction of all living in his kraal, and by the confiscation of his cattle.

So it was in Russia three hundred years ago, where all a man's family sometimes fell victims to the guilt of his treason; but Russia now occupies a front rank in the company of civilized communities, so that it is not unreasonable to hope for a better future even for Zululand.

The Zulus are attached to their national customs, and Cetewayo is said to have little wish to learn anything from the whites. In his way, however, he is a reformer of Zulu laws and customs, just as his uncles Chaka and Dingan were. Chaka made property more secure by making cattle-stealing punishable with death. Dingan, according to Gardiner, confined the power of life and death to three great chiefs, instead of to all. Cetewayo has gone beyond this. He has decreed that, in future, capital punishment shall be abolished except for witchcraft; and crimes which were once capital are now punished with the loss of one or both eyes; a fact which deserves recollection, when he is depicted as a merely sanguinary tyrant, who murders his subjects at his merest caprice. When a man is killed for witchcraft his whole kraal is also massacred, even to the dogs and fowls; after which the huts are burnt, and the cattle driven off to the king. A brave resistance, however, and a successful flight, remove the imputation of witchcraft and raise a man to honour.

The detection and punishment of crime are greatly facilitated by certain men or women who, in Zululand, form the nearest approach to a priestly order, and who are generally spoken of as diviners or doctors. They correspond to the wise men of English village life in the wide range of their supernatural powers, though it would seem, in Zululand, that the function of rain-making devolves on a different class of men from the diviners.

A diviner is a most important instrument of government, for he is over and above all a detective, a man who can "smell out" a criminal of any kind, be he murderer, thief, or sorcerer; nor is there any doubt but that a genuine belief in the diviner's power acts often as a salutary check on crime. The diviner's verdict may often be false, or directed purposely against an innocent person; but it would appear that, more frequently than otherwise, by inquiries and observation, he delivers up the real criminal to justice.

The diviner's position approaches most nearly to that of a priest in the part he plays in the preliminary proceedings of a battle. He it is who, before a battle, sacrifices the cattle to the shades of the dead, to render them propitious; he it is who subjects something taken from the enemy to a course of treatment which will ensure that enemy's defeat; he it is who renders the soldiers proof against their

foes by his charms. This part is played by men of the same class in most savage communities, so that, in the diviners of Zululand, whose call to their office is foreshadowed by fits, visions, and dreaminess, we have the germ of an institution which, in an uninterrupted historical development, would probably crystallize into a priestly caste, with all the powers and craft for evil which have been so often displayed by such an order of men among far more civilized people than the Zulus.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE ZULU ARMY.

Meaning of the name Zulu—Military power not greater now than before—The Zulu character as warriors—Military regiments and kraals—White and black, or married and unmarried regiments—Curious names of regiments—Severe discipline—Military law of marriage—Prisoners employed as carriers on marches—The king not the commander-in-chief—Superstitions connected with war—No battle without prayers and sacrifice—Cruel nature of Zulu warfare.

OUR present war against the Zulus may be taken as a reproduction in fact of the old mythical story of the war waged by the giants against heaven; for if we may accept the meaning of the word Zulu, ascribed to it by no less an authority than Bishop Colenso in his Zulu-English Dictionary, instead of the other interpretation which identifies the word with "the homeless" or "the wanderers," Zululand means literally heaven, and the Zulus consequently celestials. Most African tribes call themselves after some chieftain, nor is it improbable that the Zulus derive their name from some ancestral chief, whom, in their customary language of adulation, they once addressed

as Heaven. Bishop Callaway asserts that the name Zulu is derived from an ancient chief called Uzulu, who, he adds, may have obtained that name from the ascription to him of heavenly power, from the conversion of Uizulu, "thou art the heaven," to Zulu, heaven. It is common among the Zulus to express their reverence for a great chief by saying that he is the owner of heaven, that his heaven has just thundered or is beclouded. "They do not mean what they say; they merely wish to ascribe all greatness to him." Zulu chiefs never resent the use of such language; they expect rather to have it said that heaven belongs to them, and the use of such hyperbole is now extended even to white men, so that a native, as an expression of gratitude for some kindness, has been known to point heavenwards and say, "Sir, the sun is yours."

It is possible that the Zulus came to occupy their present territory as the Cossacks came to occupy South-eastern Russia, as a collection of marauders and refugees from other countries; but for their martial skill and military character the Zulus may be fairly called the Cossacks of South-Eastern Africa. Their military prowess has forced itself as suddenly as sadly upon public recognition; but their war system is probably no better developed now than it was when we first settled in Natal, nor, save for their possession of breech-loading firearms, is it easy to see why their

standing army should be a greater menace to the colony of Natal now than it was before or after the present boundaries were fixed. Chaka is said to have had at his disposal a force of 100,000 men, half of whom were kept in a state of constant readiness for battle : and a European who saw Panda's army start, estimated it at 20,000 soldiers. Their numerical strength, however, has always been difficult to estimate with certainty, for the chiefs have, or had, a plan of causing the same troops to pass before review in different places.

As warriors the Zulus have a terrible character in South Africa. We first find them as the ruthless conquerors of numerous other Kaffir tribes, and it was common for their neighbours to say of them that they were not men, but eaters of men. Chaka, the reputed founder of their military system, is the man round whose name the glorious traditions of Zulu conquest cling ; and as we have Sir Arthur Cunynghame's authority for saying, that "the martial system of Chaka has been steadily kept up since his time with but few relaxations," that system, as described by contemporaries, is not undeserving of attention, now that the military organization of the Zulus finds itself face to face with civilized forces. Information which strictly applies to the reign of Chaka may be taken to apply equally to that of his nephew Cetewayo ; but whilst

Chaka, with his 100,000 men, offered so little of menace or danger to the white settlers that they collected a colony of native subjects around them, now numbering some 300,000 Kaffir souls, it is strange that the same martial system, slightly relaxed, should have suddenly become a cause of panic to the Natal colony, and a pretext for the interference of English armies.

In the time of Chaka the Zulu army was divided into regiments scattered over the country, and kept apart from the rest of the people, and even from their wives and children. Each regiment was composed of about 700 men, and had a certain number of cattle allotted to each of them, which they might not touch without royal permission. These regiments, twenty-six in all, lived in military kraals a strictly military life. Thirteen of them were called the whites, from the white or variegated shields they used, and as distinct from the blacks, who might only carry black or olive-coloured shields. The whites alone, all of them married men, were entitled to shave their head and chin, and to employ servants and armour-bearers. The blacks, or younger soldiers, were always placed in front in attacks, under the leadership of white chiefs, who were authorized to slay fugitives without exception.

The names of these regiments are curious, being taken generally from some episode in their history

or peculiarity in their behaviour. Thus one was called the Panther-Catcher, by reason of a young leopard which Chaka once commanded them to catch and kill; a feat which they commemorated by the wearing of panther-skin cloaks, and by affecting the howling and ferocity of that animal whose name they considered it an honour to bear. Another regiment called themselves the Bees, in allusion to their numerical strength, imitating in battle the buzzing of bees as well as the stinging propensities of those insects.

“To conquer or die” is the motto of the Zulu nation; and in Chaka’s, and even in Panda’s reign, defeat was often punished as cowardice by death. The loss in battle of the short spear, which Chaka substituted for the assegai as the chief weapon of war, was also a capital offence.

So great, in Chaka’s mind, was the fear of treason among his followers, of their giving information to the enemy, that he would, in his parting address to his warriors, always try to mislead their sagacity by representing that their expedition was directed against some other tribe than that actually intended. The most systematic espionage contributed much to the success of Chaka’s arms.

The restrictions placed on the freedom of marriage are generally attributed to a despotic freak of the reigning Zulu king; but in this he is only following

the precedent of his uncle Chaka, who sought thereby to nurse a generous love of arms. In a book published over twenty years ago, it is written : " In the Zulu country bachelors require the king's permission to take wives—a permission sometimes not given until they are thirty or thirty-five years old ; " the reason being that unmarried men, unattached to life, were thought to make better soldiers. It is said that this restriction on marriage was developed by the famous Chaka from an already existing institution, and that it is not confined to the Zulu branch of the Kaffir family. Arbousset corroborates this, for he says that, in consequence of an innovation of Chaka's, marriage was discountenanced, only those troops which had borne the brunt of the war being allowed to take wives ; the black soldiers (that is, those not yet allowed to shave their head and chin) never marrying but by virtue of an imperial command—a command which, though long in coming, extended often, when it did come, to a whole regiment, or perhaps to two regiments at once. This aversion to the ties of matrimony is another point of similarity between the Zulus and the Cossacks. Dingan, who succeeded his brother, is said to have relaxed the rule of compulsory celibacy ; but if Cetewayo has restored it, the reason must lie below the surface, which calls more earnestly for our sympathies in behalf of Zulu bachelors than in behalf of those

confined in monasteries over the rest of the world.

Besides the two main divisions of the Zulu army, into the Whites or veteran soldiers who were reserved for emergencies, and the Blacks or young unmarried warriors, there was a third contingent called the Carriers, consisting of the prisoners of former wars, who followed the army as bearers of burdens, preparers of food, and drivers of cattle. Though the armies relied on pillage for food, cattle accompanied them as provision; but some oxen might not be touched, being reserved as guides to captured cattle, or, if need were, to the troops themselves, to lead them back to their kraals, which lay among their well-remembered pastures.

The general-in-chief was not always the king, but often the next in rank to him. It is said that now the king never goes with the army, in order that the efforts of an enemy to end a war by killing him may be frustrated. Under the chief *indunas* or captains are subordinate officers, each with his apportioned duty and office. A Zulu army, in fact, is as efficiently organized, has as clearly defined a subdivision of functions, and obeys as rigid a discipline as appears to govern the internal economy of an ants' nest or a bee-hive. The regiments are divided into wings, and subdivided into companies of about fifty men each. Each regiment has one commanding

officer, one second in command, and two wing officers; each company of every regiment has also its appointed officers.

It is perhaps no special reproach to the Zulus that superstition enters deeply into the conduct of their wars. On the common principle, that anything, belonging to another, places him in your control, a Zulu king, before an expedition, is careful to take medicine in which something belonging to the enemy is included. For this reason, if a chief is obliged to retreat, he will burn his kraal or sweep the floor of his hut, that the enemy may gain no magical advantage over him. No expedition takes place without an offering and prayers to the dead, and the army is attended by doctors (or sorcerers) who carry bundles of mysterious medicine, with which to prepare the soldiers before an engagement. By making incisions in men's bodies and inserting charms, or by the eating of horrible concoctions of flesh and herbs, Zulu doctors make the soldiers invulnerable.

Zulu warfare is cruel (but what warfare is humane?). The worst feature of it is that it knows no mercy for women or children. Quarter is seldom given to the conquered; but that prisoners are made sometimes, and neither tortured nor maltreated, is proved by the fact that in Chaka's time, if not now, prisoners were made to serve as Carriers and Cattle-drivers in the armies of the conqueror. It is,

perhaps, needless to add that the Zulus are not cannibals, though the presence among their tales of a story very similar to our own Fe-fi-fo-fum may point to a time when cannibalism belonged to their national customs. Their warfare is savage enough to have gained for them the title of Eaters of Men; but it is only in phrase, not in fact, that they are cannibals. Of their war customs and discipline, however, there is no need to say more; how savage a savage is in war, we are likely to know only too soon and too well.



CHAPTER IX.

ZULU HOME LIFE.

A Zulu kraal—Patriarchal constitution of a kraal—Agriculture—Cattle—Feast of First-fruits—Baptismal ceremonies—Treatment of children—Occupations of boys and girls—Funeral customs and superstitions—Marriage—elopements—A Zulu love-tale—Wedding ceremonies—pretended flight of a bride—Polygamy—Legal position of Zulu women—Laws of inheritance—Custom of the girl-queen—Etiquette—Custom of Hlonipa.

A KRAAL, which is the unit of Zulu social organization, is a collection of huts arranged in a circle round a cattle-pen, and sometimes a second external fence runs outside the huts. These are very like bee-hives in shape, and consist of a thatched framework of sticks; and their entrance is by low semi-circular holes. The central enclosure, or cattle-pen, encloses the cattle at night, and is the scene of dances at weddings.

The number of huts in a kraal varies with the size of the family contained in it. Every kraal is a patriarchal establishment. There is the chief hut, occupied by the head of the family; there are separate huts for each wife, for married sons, for

unmarried sons, and for the chief's dependents. The latter consist of necessitous persons, who find a home in a richer man's kraal in return for the performance of certain services ; who have cows lent to them to supply their families with milk ; who are not excluded from a share in the sacrificed oxen, and who enjoy a tolerably wide license of withdrawal from their patron should his yoke be more severe than they would wish.

These kraals are the centre of a life which is partly agricultural, partly pastoral. Outside the kraal are the gardens, where maize, millet, pumpkins, and potatoes are grown, with but little labour to the female sex, who, after the ground has been cleared for cultivation by the men, are the principal or sole gardeners. These gardens are often protected by fences, for porcupines, elephants, baboons, and antelopes, are fond of the taste of young plants or corn. Cattle, however, are the great source and measure of Zulu wealth, the central interest of Zulu life. Without oxen wives cannot be hoped for, the spirits of disease cannot be reconciled, marriages cannot be contracted, weddings cannot be celebrated. Oxen, therefore, are to the Zulu more than mere animals ; they are friends and companions, who can be addressed by name and pleased by titles of praise. Except in time of war, life in Zululand is as closely spent and centred in the absorbing

routine of crops and cattle, as it is in the agricultural districts of Great Britain.

As elsewhere, the ordinary course of existence is broken and diversified by incidents of national or domestic interest.

Thus in January of each year, the Zulus celebrate their great national feast of the first-fruits. The new food is then ripe, and all the people are summoned by the king to his kraal or capital. Beer is made, oxen are killed, and a great feast is held for one day with singing and dancing. After this feast the people may eat of the new produce ; to eat before of it subjects a man to death and the confiscation of his cattle. It is of interest to notice that Adair records a similar custom as once in vogue among the Red Indians of America. The yearly festival of the first-fruits was with them, too, a great ceremony, nor might any one touch any of the new harvest till the completion of the religious festival.

Again, births and marriages, illnesses and deaths, bring their joys and sorrows even into the midst of kraal-life in Zululand.

The birth of a child is the signal for all in a kraal to eat medicine, to protect them from any contingent evil influence. Baptismal ceremonies are observed, both magical and purificatory ; the doctor, for the child's future benefit, injecting powdered medicines

into slight incisions made on its body. The common savage prejudice against twins is sustained among the Zulus by generally neglecting one of them till it dies. The treatment of Zulu children does not appear to be heartless, nor is mention made of direct infanticide. Women are said to "manifest very considerable regard for their young children." Isaacs, who was among the first English travellers in Zululand, saw scarcely any instance of severity towards girls, though boys were more frequently chastised. Boys spend their time in hunting, milking cows, or herding calves; girls learn to hoe and weed, but they also are taught to make mats, baskets, and pottery.

Funeral lamentations chiefly find expression in much noise and violent gestures; but the grief need not be regarded as entirely fictitious which finds an outlet in fasting and letting the hair grow. Death, however, causes pollution as well as grief, and one who has buried another must seek purification through sacrifice and magic medicine. For the same reason, when a man is buried, his effects are buried or burned with him; least of all would anything he wore serve as apparel or ornament for any of his survivors. Friends and neighbours come to condole with a bereaved family, and to express their sympathy; and if the dead man has left a son as his heir, they exhort him not to beat any of the

wives of his father, and to be kind to their children, and treat the dependents well. The Zulus are buried in the sitting posture; and the graves, which are covered with branches, are carefully watched by the father or other survivor, who will not leave his watch till the branches are rotten, and he is sure that nothing can now disturb the remains of the deceased.

Marriage in Zululand is primarily an affair of property, a payment of so much cattle by the bridegroom to the father of the bride, the amount varying with the rank, looks, and working capacity of the bride. It is, however, often effected in a less mercenary way, as the result of ordinary courtship; and it happens sometimes that a girl elopes with a husband of her own choice, but is forcibly brought back and sent to the husband, chosen for her by her father. Often in such cases the elopement succeeds, the father giving up his original plan, even at the sacrifice of some cattle in payment. Parents generally, however, try to gain their daughter's affection for the husband-elect, by letting her know some weeks beforehand of their intended disposal of her, and by getting the whole kraal to join in a conspiracy of praise of the future bridegroom. If, in spite of all, she dislikes him, compulsory measures come into play; and the tyranny often exercised in such cases is one of the worst features of Zulu life.

As a general rule, in Zulu warfare neither sex nor age is spared, but the following story, told by Leslie, shows how even among savages better feelings sometimes assert supremacy.

It was once decided by the king to make a raid against the Amaswazi, to rob them of their cattle ; but strict orders were given to the soldiers that all cattle and captured girls were to belong to the king alone. The raid began, the women and children of the enemy were killed ; but one Zulu, when on the point of killing a girl, stayed his assegai, feeling suddenly as if all his anger had gone out of his fingers and toes. He protected this girl from the attacks of his companions ; he could not kill her himself, for their eyes met, and something seemed to soften and melt within him. He thought of his own father and mother at home, and how very likely the girl's parents had been killed that very day. He did not like that she should be taken from her people and become a slave to the king, so on the march homewards he managed to let her escape from the captive throng. Then came the review before the king ; the lover was threatened with death for his neglect. But he spoke out boldly, telling the dread monarch that the girl had used medicine against him. The king laughed, and the culprit escaped, but he never forgot the girl he had saved. By night he dreamed of her ; by day he thought of

her; he would stop eating to think of her, forget what he was doing when out hunting, stop without knowing it in a dance. At last, one day, his sisters rushed into his hut: a girl was lying half dead with cold in the garden. There she was whose glancing look on the day of battle he so well remembered, hungry, cold, exhausted. Her people had all been killed, and where could she seek protection better than with the man who had spared her in war? In this romantic way that Zulu soldier gained a wife.

Great preparations are made for a marriage. New dances and songs are arranged by the families of each party. The bride and her attendants go to the bridegroom's kraal, singing and dancing: but the bride has to simulate a desire to escape back home again. "The principal idea in a Kaffir wedding seems to be, to show the great unwillingness of a girl to be transformed into a wife . . . The whole ceremony is based on this assumption." The final act of the ceremony on the bride's part, therefore, is a run for the gate of the kraal, as a last effort to get away. If she succeeds, her husband has to pay another beast to get her back, and the whole ceremony has to be repeated. The other ceremonies connected with a wedding are of a sufficiently barbarous character, and contain nothing of special interest.

Polygamy is lawful in Zululand, the first wife having

precedence over the others, and the Zulus say they love Unkulunkulu because he told them to take ten wives. Each wife, however, has a separate hut, or division of a hut. In spite of this custom, and of the fact that the wives have to do such hard work as digging, weeding, gathering the harvest, fetching wood for building, it is apparent from Zulu customs and tales, that there is often much affection between a husband and his wife or wives as well as between parents and their children. Wives are said never to "look with a dry eye on their husbands going out to war," and a wife will observe anxiously every morning whether a shadow is cast by the things of her husband she has hung up on the wall, such a shadow being a sure augury of his safety and preservation.

It is also a proof of some superiority in the Zulu race over many other savages, that all the cows of a man become the legal property of his first wife, without whose consent he can neither sell nor dispose of them. None of these cattle, for instance, can go to the purchase of another wife without her consent. A husband is liable to a fine in cattle for an injury to his wife; and ill-treated wives often return to their homes. The general position of women in Zululand resembles rather that held by them in the Fiji than in the Tongan islands; it is so low that they are quite precluded from the privileges of inheritance.

As in ancient Athens, a woman passes to her husband's heir, that is, to the eldest son of the principal wife. This eldest son is his father's representative, and the wives of the latter, if they would marry again, must marry some brother of their deceased husband, unless with the consent of his eldest son. This eldest son inherits also all the cattle left by his father, unless the latter divided them before his death between the eldest sons of each of his several establishments. The younger sons of each family would in no case apparently inherit anything, being themselves part of the inheritance of their eldest brother; nor may they even marry before the chief eldest son, the head of the family. If a man leaves no sons, his next brother is heir-at-law to his property, that is, to his wives, daughters, and cattle; and if minor sons survive they are under the guardianship of their uncle. There is no restriction on the re-marriage of widows, but widows who re-marry are peculiarly liable to be haunted by the marital reproaches of their deceased masters.

A curious custom of the Zulus is that of several young women assembling together and choosing one of their number as a sort of queen, without whose consent none of the others may act for themselves, even in the matter of a proposal of marriage. The girl-queen can fine any of her subjects in beads or

brass (the only property girls have), if they communicate with their sweethearts without her knowledge and consent. Some Zulu parents will not allow their daughters to be elected girl-queen, owing to a superstition that all the children of such a girl die young.

The Zulus, like many other people, are the creatures of convention and etiquette. There are the strictest rules for approaching or saluting superiors, and the king or chiefs are as tenacious of their titles or praise-giving names as ever were the Ivans of Russia. An inferior must sit, not stand, in the presence of a superior, for to stand would be to "overshadow" the chief. On taking leave, it is customary to say, "Please remain and build," this being equivalent to a wish that the person addressed may remain healthy and well, and become great by extending his kraal. The royal cook may never tell the king or any of his family that the meat is cooked; he must convey the intelligence by saying that he is tired of roasting. A Zulu would commit a breach of etiquette to offer another beer without first tasting it himself; to offer snuff to a friend, before being asked for some, would raise the suspicion of a wish to poison him.

But it is in the custom of Hlonipa that Zulu etiquette reaches its climax. It is derived from a word meaning shame, and signifies that they are

ashamed or too polite to use the names of persons they reverence in the common parlance of every-day life. Thus no woman may mention her father-in-law, nor her son-in-law, by their proper names; nor may a husband be addressed by his name by any of his wives' relations. It is disrespectful for any young persons to call their seniors by their names. The higher the rank, the stricter is the etiquette. At the king's kraal it is sometimes difficult to understand his wives, as they avoid the sound of the name, not only of the king, but of his father's and their brothers', back for many generations. For instance, *amanzi* means water, but because a *z* occurred in the name of Panda's father, water is now called *amandambi*. Again, no individual of any Zulu tribe will use the name of their chief or his progenitors: thus *Amakwata* has taken the place of *Amacebo* for a "lie," because the latter has a syllable in it which also occurs in the name Cetewayo. So much does this practice prevail that the Zulu language is said at this time almost to present the phenomenon of a double one, and if ever a word applicable to a proper name has not its corresponding Hlonipa, it is customary to meet and invent one. It is remarkable that the phenomenon of a different language for men and women prevailed also among the island Caribs; and among the Abipones of South America, old women invented new names for things

whose ordinary names recalled the memory of some one dead.

But Hlonipa governs to some extent Zulu intercourse as well as Zulu language, in the restrictions which it places on the relations between a son and a mother-in-law. A mother-in-law must avoid her son-in-law by hiding; and if he meets her too suddenly for her to do so, she has to symbolize her conformity to good manners by breaking off a piece of grass and tying it round her head. If ever they wish to communicate, it must be by shouting to one another from a distance, or with something to separate them, as a kraal fence. In the same way no relations of a husband will drink milk at any kraal connected with his wife; and so conversely. Such restrictions on intercourse have also their analogies in places very remote from Zululand.



CHAPTER X.

THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE ZULUS.

Zulu religion a worship of the dead—Sacrifice and prayer—Unkulunkulu, or the first man, to a certain extent a creator—The king of heaven only known by the lightning—The Amatongo—their influence—The part played by them in battle—Ghosts or Itongo—Men's character after death like what it was in their lifetime—Dreams sent by the Itongo—Zulu dream-theories—Ghosts incarnate in wasps or snakes—The identification of snakes—Sneezing due to the spirits—No human sacrifice in Zulu religion.

No religion better illustrates the influence of the fear of the dead in the formation of religious belief than that of the Zulus, and few ideas or customs of savages are more curious than those displayed by them in their Amatongo, or ancestor-worship. This constitutes their whole religion. They do not, however, worship all their dead collectively; but each family severally worships the head of its own house. "Speaking generally, the head of each house is worshipped by the children of that house, for they do not know the ancients who are dead . . . nor their names." "A man whose father is dead, when about to kill a bullock, *worships his father*, praying

him to look on him continually, and to give him all that he wishes."

The sacrifice of bullocks is the common accompaniment of prayer. At their slaughter their owner, naming his dead grandfathers and grandmothers as he prays, says: "There is your bullock, ye spirits of our people; there is your food; I pray for a healthy body that I may live comfortably, and thou, So-and-so, treat me with mercy." All sickness is regarded as a notification from the dead that they are in want of food; and at the sacrifice which ensues, the head of a village often remonstrates rather freely with the insatiable spirits who express their wishes by this stealthy and disagreeable method rather than by a more candid representation of their longings. "Is it proper that people like you should habitually, instead of asking for food in a proper manner, come to us at all times in the form of sickness? Is that proper? No! . . . There, then, is your food . . . I now no longer know what you can demand. I have already given you what you ask. Let the man get well . . . Let this coming to me stealthily be at an end. Go openly, that I may see you, for that which you ask for I will not refuse."

At the head of all their ancestors, and as the central figure of their mythology, though not of their religion, stands the dim figure of Unkulun-

kulu, the Old-old-one, the first man. Though the Zulus profess to know nothing about him, and never now worship him, he fills, in their cosmogony, the place of a Creator. He it was who made all things, the sun, and moon, and sky; who taught the Zulus the arts of divination and medicine, who gave them ancestors, and taught them the use of sacrifice, and the significance of dreams. Rain, food, corn, are recognized as coming from him, but he is not on that account worshipped. The Zulus worship only the Unkulunkulu, or ancestors of their several tribes and families, men whom they have seen on earth and remember, not the Unkulunkulu or primitive ancestor of their race or of mankind. "The name of Unkulunkulu has no respect paid to it among black men; for his house no longer exists." So much is this the case, that parents, when they wish to do anything without their children's knowledge, bid them go out and call for Unkulunkulu, which they do till they are hoarse. On the plea, too, that everything in the world owes its origin and being to Unkulunkulu, a Zulu excuses himself for the commission of acts which he knows to be wrong. If, he argues, such an act is wrong, why did Unkulunkulu create what is evil?

Nothing is more certain, from their own accounts of Unkulunkulu, than that the Zulus had no higher notions about the creation of things than those they

associate with a *man* of their own race, the first of them (as they vaguely express it) that “came out.” Unkulunkulu came out of a bed of reeds upon an earth which existed before him, which he personally did not create. Zulu speculation goes no further back than this bed of reeds, into the origin of things. “The first man did not see his own creation. When he and his wife first saw, they found themselves crouching in a bed of reeds, and saw no one who had created them.” He “was an ancestor and nothing more, an ancient man who begat men, and gave origin to all things.” It is important to notice this, because the gradual elevation of an hypothetical first man, or ancestor, to the rank of a divinity or a creator is a common feature of other savage tribes as well as of the Zulus; as time removes a real human being further and further from human recollection, he gradually becomes divested of his more human attributes, and passes into mythology by the mere process of oblivion.

In addition to Unkulunkulu, and quite distinct from him, the Zulus speak in their traditions of a lord of heaven, whom they call “the king which is above.” In the thunderstorms of summer they are wont to say that “the king is playing, but that he is not angry with them, for they have eaten nothing that belongs to him.” If a man, a village, or cattle, are struck by lightning, they ascribe it to the power of

this being, who thus kills cattle to satisfy his hunger, or punishes a man for his sins against him. His smiting by lightning is the only thing they claim to know about him; they “know nothing of his mode of life, nor of the principles of his government.” He seems to hold a subordinate position to Unkulunkulu, who in some sense made all things.

It is possible that missionary teaching has somewhat modified the original conception of this “king of heaven,” though the Zulus profess not to have first heard of him from the white men. But it would be a great mistake to suppose—to use Bishop Callaway’s words, “that because they speak of a heavenly lord, they have any conception of him which identifies him with God.” “In the native mind there is scarcely any notion of Deity, if any at all, wrapt up in their sayings about a heavenly chief. When it is applied to God, it is simply the result of teaching.” But little as Zulu belief concerns itself with inquiries concerning the origin or creation of things, their religion, as applied solely to the worship of their dead, is exceedingly real, vivid, and systematic.

From Unkulunkulu, the first man, they received commands to worship their Amatongo, or ancestors. Everything on earth depends on the Amatongo. They it is who decide whether the Zulus shall be killed, or kill, in battle; and in case of defeat, exclamations are

loud that the Amatongo are good for nothing ; but, in any case, cattle are sacrificed to them by those who are saved, either as a thank-offering, or as propitiation before another battle. It is thought that, if cattle have been sacrificed, the Amatongo have no further cause for complaint, so that military courage is enhanced by the feeling that the dead now fight with the combatants.

The cry of the sacrificed beast, as it is pierced by the assegai, is a good omen in sacrifice ; and for that reason oxen or goats are killed, but not sheep ; “ for a sheep is foolish, and makes no noise, and therefore it is not usual to sacrifice a sheep.” The victim so offered is always eaten by those on whose behalf it was slain.

It is an argument in prayer to the Amatongo, that, if all their worshippers are suffered to die, there will be no village for them to enter, nor any meat save grasshoppers for them to eat. Thus the dead are as liable as the living to feel the misery of cold or hunger.

Zulu notions about ghosts, or Itongo of their Amatongo, are exceedingly curious, and supply us with the conceptions they have of a future life. As a man was in character in this life, so, it is believed, he will be after death. Children console themselves, on the death of a father who was kind to them, by the reflection that, as he treated them well in his

lifetime, so he will treat them as a ghost. They may worship generally the Amatongo of their tribe, but it is on their father, whose gentleness and bravery they knew, that they chiefly rely for recovery from sickness.

On the other hand, if a man has been wicked and quarrelsome in life, his spirit remains such, and acts accordingly towards his survivors, making extravagant demands on the cattle-pen, or sending animals that are ominous of death. Thus, at the very time of sacrifice, a brother will address a dead brother that has teased him to part with his cow: "It is clear you were a bad fellow when you were a man; are you still a bad fellow under the ground?"

They have also a tradition of a famous brave who was so strong that he could kill leopards like flies, but who was so very wicked and cruel that his name is never now mentioned (except at sacrifices), lest his wicked Itongo should destroy the village.

Very troublesome Itongo, who make the living ill by the dreams they send them—especially the Itongo of a dead husband who afflicts a re-married widow—can be laid in Zululand by a doctor, just as ghosts once upon a time might have been "laid" in England by a bishop. The Zulus seem to have no ideas, beyond those of the persistency of character after death, of any different conditions awaiting the good and bad respectively.

The whole of Zulu life is based on their belief in the vivid interest taken by the Itongo, or spirits of the dead, in the affairs of the living. Dreams are the chief means of communication between the two worlds. By dreams, the Itongo say what they wish for; the particular bullock they desire to have killed for them. Hence nothing is more important than dreaming—it is the gift of “*sight by night*”—and the man “who dreams is the great man of the village.” To him it is revealed what medicines are good for the illness of men or cattle, and where they are to be found; and the fees for such cures being presents of cattle, his dreams soon make him not only a celebrated doctor, but a wealthy man.

The Zulu philosophy of dreams connects them intellectually with the civilized world, since they, too, regard particular visions as portending good, and others evil, fortune. It is, perhaps, a sign of an advanced dream-theory when the rule of interpretation goes by contraries, as it does in Zululand. Thus, to dream of a wedding or of dancing, betokens a funeral; and the Zulus cite instances in which such dreams have been coincident with the sudden deaths of their relations. On the other hand, a funeral lamentation is a dream of happy omen; just as in England to dream of a coffin betokens a wedding.

So, again, if a Zulu dreams that in a raid into a

hostile district he stabbed one of the enemy, he goes into battle cautiously, and behind his companions, for the dream that he stabbed another means really that he will be stabbed himself.

The best dream a Zulu can have, if any one be ill, is that he is dead, and about to be buried; and if the dreamer sees the earth poured into the grave, sees the dead man's things—his assegais, his blankets, his dresses—being either buried or burnt, and hears the funeral wails of the mourners, then he is sure the man will recover. They say of such a dream, "Because we have dreamt of his death, he will *not* die."

This interpretation by contraries is the general conclusion that the logic of facts has forced upon the native mind with regard to dreams; but there is still a feeling of dread that the dream may, after all, have its literal counterpart in fact, so that a Zulu has even been known to travel over a hundred miles in order to test the reality of a dream. If a messenger comes to announce the death of a man, he will often be told that he brings no news, for that the fact had been already seen beforehand.

For battle, for the chase, for everything, visions are thus the great guide of Zulu life; but the idea is a strange one that, in summer, they may be trusted as better indicators of events than dreams which come in the winter, the clouds of that season being

taken to becloud human intelligence no less than the skies.

Ghosts, or Itongo, however, often manifest themselves in a more material form than mere dreams. They may come as wasps, but they especially love to incarnate themselves in snakes; so that if a snake enters a dwelling it is not killed, because it is the Idhlozi of some one, having come out of him at his death. Snakes therefore are to some extent worshipped; they receive thanksgiving if a man recovers from sickness or acquires more cattle.

Not all snakes have been men or women; only those which do not run away nor bite. The personality of snakes may be easily identified: a scar on the side, the loss of an eye, lameness, or other peculiarity of some one deceased, shows immediately who it is; "for men usually have some marks, and the snakes into which they turn have similar marks," but chiefs turn into a different kind of snake from that which embodies chieftainesses or common people, always being either black or green snakes.

This idea of distinguishing transformed humanity is not uncommon in savage life. The Bedouins, for instance, believe that sorcerers can change men into goats, but that a buyer, by careful inspection, can discover the mark which indicates the transformation. In a certain species of lizard the Zulus recognize the

Itongo of some old woman, and a portent of fever and death, so that if it is often seen, they sacrifice a bullock and say, "Eat and go home, here is food for you; eat and depart."

Serpent-worship, perhaps due to similar feelings that have produced it in Zululand, is well known to be widely spread over the world. It is curious that East Prussia, in the sixteenth century, should have had a custom exactly analogous to that of the Zulus. Certain black fat-bodied reptiles were cherished as household gods, and allowed to crawl about a house to search for food placed for them. They were looked upon with great reverence by the whole family until they had satisfied their hunger and departed. If any accident occurred to any of the family, it was believed that the reptile had been ill-received and badly fed.

Among the Zulus, if a snake is found coiled up in the upper part of a house, and any one says, "Let it be killed," others exclaim, "What, kill a man!" So if a snake has been observed on the grave of a dead man, the man who saw it will say, speaking of the deceased, "I saw him to-day basking in the sun on the top of the grave."

The Itongo have still another way of addressing themselves to their former relations, for they it is who make a man sneeze, as a signal to remind him to name them at once. A Zulu, on sneezing, because

he does not know which individual ancestor has thus visited him, says generally "Chiefs," so that he may be sure to include the right one. It is a lucky sign, a sign that the Itongo are with a man, and so an occasion for thanking the "Chiefs" for past favours, and for praying for a continuance of the same, for more children, more cattle, more wives, more of everything. In illness it is a bad sign not to sneeze; and a sneezing child is bade to grow.

At Rarotonga, one of the Hervey Islands, a sneeze betokens the return of a spirit to its bodily tenement, and bystanders exclaim, "Ha! you have come back." Sneezing superstitions are common all the world over, but though generally an occasion for felicitation, sneezing is sometimes an omen of dread. In New Zealand, for example, a mother repeats a charm when her child sneezes, to avert evil consequences, and English nurses do just the same. In Scotland a child is under fairy spells till it sneezes, and this belief is perhaps connected with the absurd idea of the incapacity of idiots to sneeze. In Zululand a sneeze, or a yawn, is among the symptoms of a man's approaching call to the functions of a diviner; but there is generally some difference of opinion as to whether a man is really about to become a diviner or whether he is merely about to become mad. The nearest approach to inspiration in Zululand is

insanity ; and a state bordering on imbecility is one of the high roads to wealth and power.

Thus it appears that the Zulus are perhaps the greatest spiritualists in the world, and that the whole of their religion is comprised in a well-developed system of spiritualism. But this religion has at least stopped short of human sacrifice, though the practice appears at one time to have been in vogue of burning a chief's servants, his great attendants, in his funeral bonfire. " When a chief died, he did not die alone when the fire was kindled, the chief was put in ; and then his servants were chosen, and put into the fire after the chief ; the great men followed, they were taken one by one." When Chaka's mother died, a general massacre, estimated at the incredible number of 7,000 victims, was the way in which the multitude testified their sorrow ; and it is believed that ten young girls were buried alive with the deceased. Cremation would thus seem to be the rule in some Zulu tribes, burial in others. Zulu religion, therefore, can scarcely be allowed a high rank even among the religions of savages ; but the cruelties that their superstitions have led them to are mere child's play when compared with those of ancient Mexico ; yet there was much that was good even in ancient Mexico, so that it would be unfair to judge the Zulus solely by their religion.

CHAPTER XI.

ZULU LEGENDS AND BELIEFS.

Legend of the origin of man—of the superiority of white men—of the origin of pumpkins and corn—of death—Beliefs about the heavenly bodies—The sky a rock—Sky-herds—A prayer for rain by the sacrifice of black oxen—The Heaven-bird—Male and female heaven—The Rainbow a sheep or snake—Food prohibitions—Legend of a visit to the skies—Of the elder and younger brother—Origin of baboons—Zulu version of the Frog-king—Fable of the hyrax—of the hyena and the moon—Riddles.

THE legends of the Zulus derive interest, not only from their intrinsic peculiarity, but from their points of resemblance with other legends in Africa, and outside it. Thus the origin of man, the origin of corn, of fire, marriage, and death, have puzzled Zulu heads just as they have puzzled thinkers, poets, and theologians in America and Polynesia, and elsewhere. Generally the difficulty is solved by referring everything to Unkulunkulu; but there are legends which display more thought and fancy than this facile hypothesis explains for them, and prove that Zululand also has its poets. "The natives," says Leslie, "have regular doctors whose business it is

to compose songs, set them to music, and teach them to the people.”

Like the Basutos and other African tribes, the Zulus explain the origin of man by saying simply, that he *came out* of the earth. Till their acquaintance with the white man they believed that all mankind came out together, and were equally endowed; but since their experience of the greater wealth and intellectual capacity of the white man, they have resorted to the following hypothesis in explanation: they themselves came out first, but only with a few things, only a small supply of corn, cattle, and assegais, with just enough knowledge to save themselves from famine; whilst the whites did not hurry out, but took care to leave nothing behind, and “scraped out the last bit of wisdom,” so that their victories over the blacks they may be said to have gained literally “by sitting still.” On the Guinea Coast a legend of a similar nature exists. The black men, when given the first choice between the possession of gold or knowledge, preferred the former, and were, as a punishment, consigned evermore to be the slaves of the white men.

Red Indians have a beautiful legend of the origin of maize or Indian corn, and Zulus no less have turned their thoughts to the problem of the gifts to mankind of corn and of pumpkins. A certain

woman, in primitive times, wishing to relieve herself from the annoyance of her child, who was always crying for food, gave it a mouthful of boiled pumpkin, intending to poison it; but the result was so different from her intention, that she and her companions found that pumpkin, so far from being poisonous, was really wholesome and most nutritious food.

As to corn, jealousy was the cause of its beneficial qualities becoming known; and again it was a woman whose fault led to the discovery. For, being desirous of revenging herself on another of her sex, she plucked the seeds of a certain plant which then grew like grass, and gave to her enemy to eat of them, expecting to see her die; but in this she was disappointed, for the woman did not die, "but grew plump and better-looking than ever." It is deserving of notice that exactly the same story of the origin of the use of corn is told by Casalis of the Basutos.

But their legend of the origin of death in the world connects the Zulus not only with the Basutos, but also with the Hottentots. Unkulunkulu sent a chameleon to tell men that they should not die; but as the chameleon loitered and ate fruit on the way, a lizard was sent to bear the message, that men must die. So when the chameleon at last arrived and delivered his proclamation, men replied that they

had heard a contrary message from the lizard, and therefore they said to the chameleon, "We do not understand the matter of which you speak."

Other African legends of the same type connect the story with a message of a future resurrection. Thus, in the Basuto version, the grey lizard was sent to tell men they would rise again; but he was supplanted by the chameleon, who arrived first, and delivered the contrary intelligence, which could not be altered.

In Hottentot mythology the moon sent an insect to men, to tell them that, as the moon died and lived again, so it should be with them. The insect entrusted the message to a hare, who exactly reversed the information, and thus death became the law and end of life. These simple creeds disclose the strong intellectual affinity connecting the various populations of South Africa, and either point backwards to a period in their history when they were all united, or illustrate the facility with which such fancies are often dispersed over wide geographical areas.

The Zulus trouble themselves but little with the nature of the heavenly bodies. As a rule it suffices them to say: "The sun is the sun, and the moon the moon, they shine;" but the belief has been found existing among them, that "the sun is a spark which rises from a great fire, sticks in the

sky till mid-day, and then fades ;” also, “ that the moon is a hole in the heavens.” Speculation on these subjects seems to vary ; for now we find the sun standing in the relation to the moon and stars of a Zulu chief to his subordinates, and the moon spoken of as the sun’s officer ; and again, the stars are the children of the sun and the sky.

As among the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, the sky is held by the Zulus to be solid, and they speak of the sky as “ a *blue rock*, on the other side of which dwell the heavenly men, and on this side the clouds and celestial luminaries.” About this sky the Zulus entertain the happy notion, so common in savage life, that its behaviour, as regards weather, lies entirely within human control. Certain men among them are called sky-herds, because they stand in the same relation to the clouds as herdsmen occupy in relation to cattle. They whistle to the lightning to leave the skies, just as the herdsman whistles cattle out of their pens ; and they forbid hailstones to fall, to the destruction of Zulu food and grass. Should a sky-herd’s efforts against the hail prove unsuccessful, it is evident that he has not fasted, that he stands in need of purification.

This is a pleasant belief of the Zulus, and one that English science well might envy, that the skies may be managed by medicines, thunder-clouds be dispersed by human frowns, and hailstones silenced

by loud lungs. As storms are fortunately transitory visitations, and the Zulu sky-herd contends till he is victorious, his powers are never called in question either by himself or by his fellow-tribesmen.

Sometimes, however, the rain-doctor runs some risk; and there is a record of one of whom the people demanded back the cattle they had once given him for his rain, because, when it was wanted a second time, he failed to produce it. Chaka, who claimed the dominion of heaven as of earth, ordered rain-doctors to be killed, because, in assuming power to control the weather, they were interfering with his own prerogative.

Another method of obtaining rain is by a sacrifice in times of drought. The heads of villages take oxen to the king to be sacrificed as a public prayer for rain; and the idea is a curious one, that these oxen must *all* be black, without a white one among them, for the reason that, as rain is preceded by *black* clouds, so it must be symbolized or attracted by *black* oxen. Closely allied to such an idea is the custom for the rain-doctor to begin to frown when he hears thunder approaching, "that he, too, may be dark as the heaven when it is covered with clouds"—that he may, when the storm comes, be on equal terms with the elements he is to meet in contest.

There is also a certain bird, called "the heaven-bird," the slaughter of which conduces, when the

corn is parched, to bring relief from the skies. This bird is killed and thrown into a pool, in the full belief that the heavens will then become soft by sympathy with the bird, and will cease to be hard ; the rain being the funeral wail of the sky for the unfortunate bird that has been killed.

Another extravagant notion of the Zulus is, that the heavens are divided into two sexes : a male heaven thunders with a deep and powerful roar, but does no harm, causing only rain ; the female, on the other hand, combines forked lightning and hail with thunder, not only to the great terror of men, but to the destruction of their trees and cattle.

There is some difference of opinion as to whether the rainbow is a large sheep or a snake. The general belief identifies it with a sheep ; and where it touches the earth, it is supposed that the sheep is drinking at a pool. For this reason men dread to bathe in a large pool, lest they should be devoured by this sheep : only diviners may bathe in pools with impunity. As connected with the other opinion, which makes the rainbow a snake, it is worthy of notice that in Dahomey, too, the rainbow is spoken of as " the snake of heaven."

The superstition is not uncommon in the world, that a man's character and destiny become assimilated to the food he eats ; and the fear of proving a coward or a thief may perhaps lie at the bottom of

many ideas concerning *unclean* food. The Zulus have several ideas of this kind, the most remarkable of which is the notion that if a woman eats an animal with so ugly a mouth, and so long a snout as the pig has, a resemblance to the pig will appear among her children. So, again, because the lower lip of a bullock is in constant movement it is refrained from as food, lest the eater's child should, like the bullock, be subject to tremblings of its mouth. If a young person, therefore, is seen with a trembling mouth, people say, "It was injured by its father, who ate the lower lip of a bullock."

The poetical nature of the Zulus, displayed in such beliefs as those referred to, finds additional confirmation in the vast store of fairy or nursery tales which have recently been collected amongst them, and which throw much light on their ways of living and thinking. It is only possible to allude to a few of these, which are interesting from their analogy with the tales of other and very distant parts of the globe.

In America, New Zealand, and elsewhere the legend is a common one of human beings who, by some means, attained to the skies, and who, on their return to earth, gave a description of the wonders they saw there, which supplied them with their first conception of an Elysium, or of heavenly fields. The Zulus, too, who regard the sky as at no great distance

from the earth, and as a rock, relate how a girl and her brother, when pursued by cannibals, ascended a high tree and so found a very beautiful country. "They found a very beautiful house there; that house was green, and the floor was burnished; the country of the upper region was very beautiful; they walked about there continually, and looked at it, for they saw it for the first time."

Again, the Zulus have their legend of the elder and younger brother, the former of whom was wicked, and wished to commit fratricide. Two brothers went out hunting and came upon a row of pots, which the elder feared to touch, but which the younger ventured to turn upside down. A little old woman came out of the last, and besought both brothers in turn to accompany her. The elder was churlish, and refused; the younger obeyed, and through his obedience gained much cattle. The brothers went on together, leaving the old woman. They thirsted for water, and the younger let the elder down a precipice by a rope to drink, and then drew him up again. The elder then let down the younger, but left him there, and drove his brother's cattle homewards as his own. Next morning the honey-bird told his parents that their younger son was in the water. They both went, and heard from him the true version of the story. The mother threw him down food, whilst the father went home and

sent a man with a rope to draw him up again. The mother wept for joy; they returned home; but the elder brother had fled, and was heard of no more. The Basutos have a story very like this, and its resemblance to stories of our own is too obvious to need special reference.

Like other people, the Zulus believe in the human origin of baboons. Baboons are really people of the Amafene tribe, a people who were habitually idle, and preferred eating at other people's houses to digging for themselves. Tusi, their chief, led them to the wilderness, where the handles of their digging-picks gradually turned into tails, their foreheads became overhanging, and their bodies covered with hair. They went to the precipices and had their dwellings among the rocks; and to this day, when a baboon is killed, it is said, "It is one of Tusi's men."

In Aryan mythology the story of the Frog-king is very famous. A princess, having dropped her golden ball into a well, stands weeping inconsolably by its side, when a frog, who is a prince under enchantment, expresses pity for her sorrow, recovers for her the golden ball, by her means is restored to humanity, and finally becomes her husband. This myth is thought to have had its origin in the ancient poetical language of our Aryan ancestors, who, among other metaphors applied to the sun, called it a frog. "At sun-rise

and sun-set, when the sun seemed squatting on the water, it was called the frog." This theory may be true or it may not; but it is curious to find in Zulu fairy tales the record of a princess, sitting in tears at the side of a river, and addressed in words of pity by a frog, who, by swallowing her, takes her back to the parents she has lost, is made by her father into a great chief, rewarded with men and cattle, and known afterwards as the Frog-man. The Zulu story at least differs thus much from the Aryan one, that the princess marries, not the Frog-king, but some other celebrity; in other respects it closely resembles the story supposed to be of Aryan origin.

The Zulus also have their moral fables, which supply proverbs for the conduct of daily life. Thus "the hyrax lacks the advantage of a tail for driving away flies, because, on the day when tails were distributed he thought it was going to rain, and asked the other animals to bring him his tail, to save going himself." So now, when one man asks another to fetch or do something for him to save himself trouble, it is a common reply, "Ah, the hyrax went without a tail because he sent for it."

A hyena found a bone, but, coming to some water wherein the moon was shining, let drop the bone to catch at the moon, thinking it to be fat meat. The hyena persevered not only that night, but on subsequent ones, in trying to eat the moon, but

always with the uniform result of falling into the water. Another hyena meantime ran off with the bone, so that the hyena was much laughed at, and Zulus are laughed at too, when their conduct justifies a comparison between themselves and the hyena of the fable.

The Zulus also have riddles. Thus, "men who are many and form a row, dance a wedding-dance, and are dressed in white," mean the teeth, which stand in a row like men about to dance the wedding-dance. "A man, who lives in the midst of enemies every day," means the tongue, which is afflicted by its proximity to its enemies, the teeth. "A man whose laugh men do not like to hear, because, when it laughs, they weep," signifies fire, the merry crackling of which, as it burns a village, brings tears into the eyes of parents and cattle owners. "A cow which gives much milk, but which, if it once falls, never rises again," is a house, which affords much joy (or milk) to those who live beneath it, but which, when once it has fallen, is never restored.

These, and many other interesting details which might be given, we mainly owe to the industry of Canon (now Bishop) Callaway, and they tend to place the Zulus in a far pleasanter light for study and contemplation than when we see them equipped with all "the pomp and circumstance of war."

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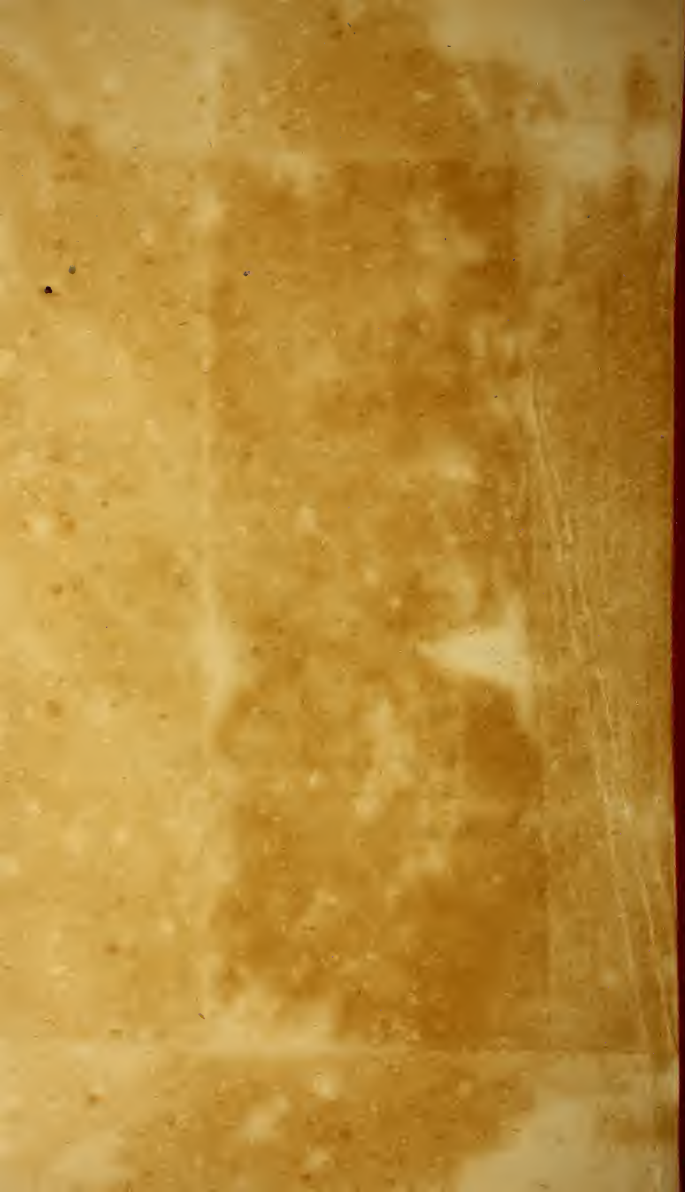
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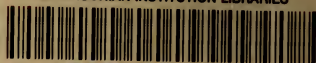
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